

Forced Funding Values and Message Testing

October 27, 2017

Prepared for



WITH INNOVATIVE RESEARCH WE
YOU UNDERSTAND HOW TO ENGAGE
THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF PEOPLE
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THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF PEOPLE

Background and Objectives

- State Policy Network is involved in an effort to end the practice of union dues skimming, where unions automatically take a piece of Medicaid money sent to low-income elderly and disabled individuals. This is one example of a series of “forced funding” schemes that exist throughout multiple levels of government.
- Specifically, this research is designed to:
 - ✦ Provide data needed to craft messaging to inform the public and policy makers about forced funding policies and appropriate ways to curtail it
 - ✦ Identify the best words and phrases to use on the issue of forced funding

Methodology



MODE

Online Survey



LENGTH

25 minutes



DATES

October 5 – 13, 2017



AUDIENCE

n=1,365, general population with quotas for region, age by gender and ethnicity



GEOGRAPHY

National, including oversamples in Texas, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Executive Summary - Key Messaging Takeaways

- Do not attack unions generally – they are seen positively by Americans. Instead attack the lack of choice that exists in the current system.
- Positive impressions of unions rely on the idea that these organizations raise the quality of life for workers. Undercutting this message vastly decreases the image of unions.
- Strong message themes include freedom of choice, fairness and a lack of pressure/coercion.

Executive Summary – General Impression of Unions

- Americans generally have a favorable impression of unions and believe they can be a force for good.
- Most describe unions as *fighting for higher wages and better benefits*, with minorities associating them with negative descriptors like *corrupt, harmful, and dangerous*.
- However, most Americans also strongly value being able to make an individual choice about joining a union – 70% support right-to-work laws and 82% believe there is no appropriate situation for the government to help collect union dues.

Executive Summary – Union Values

- Unions provide some benefits that ladder up to a higher quality of life, feeling protected, peace of mind and security.
- Concerns about unions largely stem from a lack of fairness and coercion in the current system.







Executive Summary – Government Labor Unions

- There is limited familiarity regarding the differences between government and private labor unions.
- Few have heard anything about government unions lately, but those who have are more likely to say what they heard was negative.

Executive Summary – Dues Skimming

- Over half of Americans oppose dues skimming for both Medicaid and child care. Two-thirds find current opt-out procedures unfair.
- Half of Americans have no existing knowledge of these policies.
- Three-quarters of Americans support the proposed federal fix to dues skimming.
- *Dues skimming is so unpopular that educating people about this policy drastically reduces favorability and support of unions overall (see next slide), even among pro-union groups (see slide 73).*

Pre/Post Measures

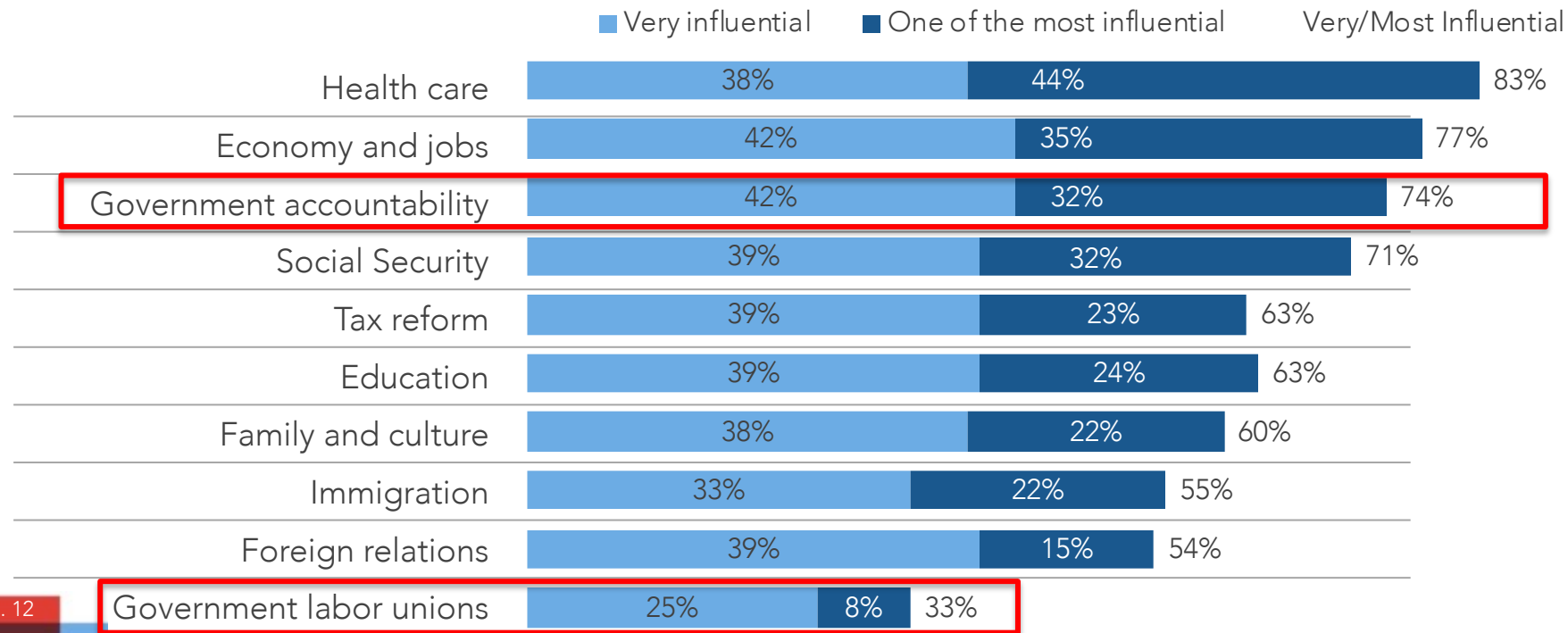
Measure	Pre	Post	Change
Believe Unions Create “More Good than Harm”	47%	34%	 -13
Government Labor Union Favorability	56.8	48.9	 -11
Believe Union Leadership is Accountable to Members and Looks Out for Their Interest	70%	60%	 -10
Support for Government Labor Unions	43%	34%	 -9
Believe Union Members Get Good Value From Dues	64%	55%	 -9
Private Labor Unions	56.7	52.0	 -7



DETAILED FINDINGS

While government labor unions have low influence, government accountability is highly important to Americans, highlighting a possible way to frame messages about unions and dues skimming.

Influential Motivators of Political Participation



BASE: SPLIT SAMPLE (Base Varies)

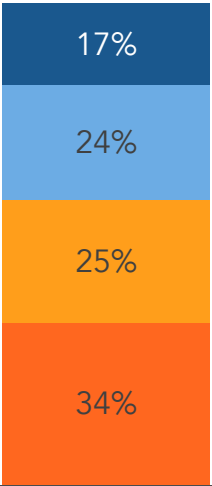
Q200. There are many things that motivate people to be politically active in how they vote on issues and candidates. Thinking about the following issues, how influential is each issue to you personally in motivating you and your political participation?

There is limited familiarity with the differences between government unions and private industry labor unions. Among those who are aware of differences, most feel there is a good deal of difference.

Differences Between Government and Private Industry Labor Unions

Familiar (Net) 41%
Just a little/Not Very Familiar (Net) 59%

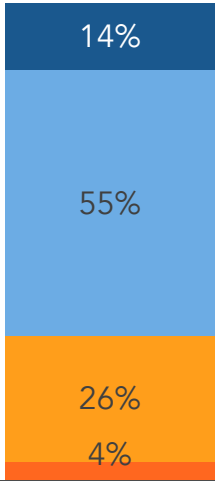
- Very familiar
- Somewhat familiar
- Just a little familiar
- Not at all familiar



Familiarity with Differences Between Government Unions and Private Industry Labor Unions

70% Completely/Good Deal Different (Net)
30% Little/Not Different (Net)

- Completely different
- A good deal difference
- A little difference
- No difference



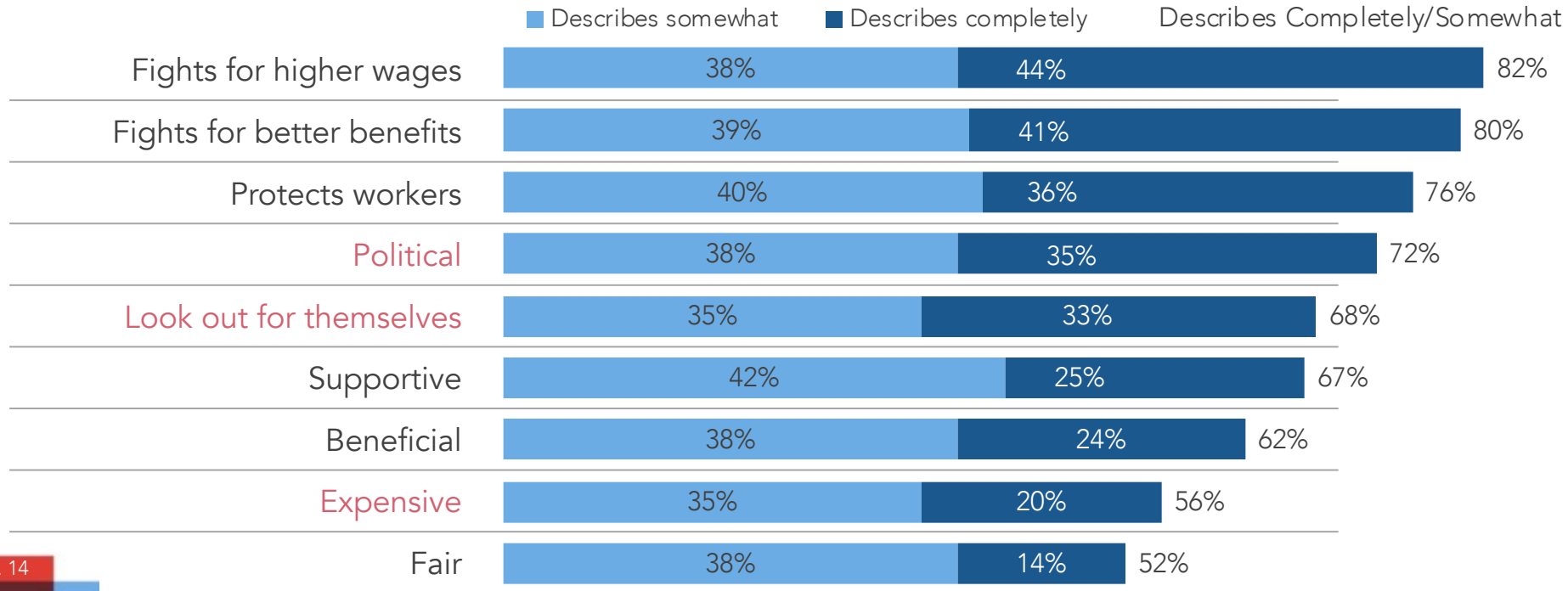
Difference Between Government Labor Unions and Private Industry Labor Unions

Familiarity higher among Post-graduates (54%), Ages 25-34 (54%), Ages 35-44 (55%)

BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)
Q201. How familiar are you with the differences between government unions and private industry labor unions?
BASE: FAMILIAR WITH UNION DIFFERENCES (n=901)
Q202. In general, how much of a difference do you feel there is between government labor unions and private industry labor unions?

The best descriptors of labor unions are positive and based on *fighting for higher wages, fighting for better benefits and protects workers*. *Political and looks out for themselves* are key vulnerabilities to work into messaging.

Descriptors of Labor Unions



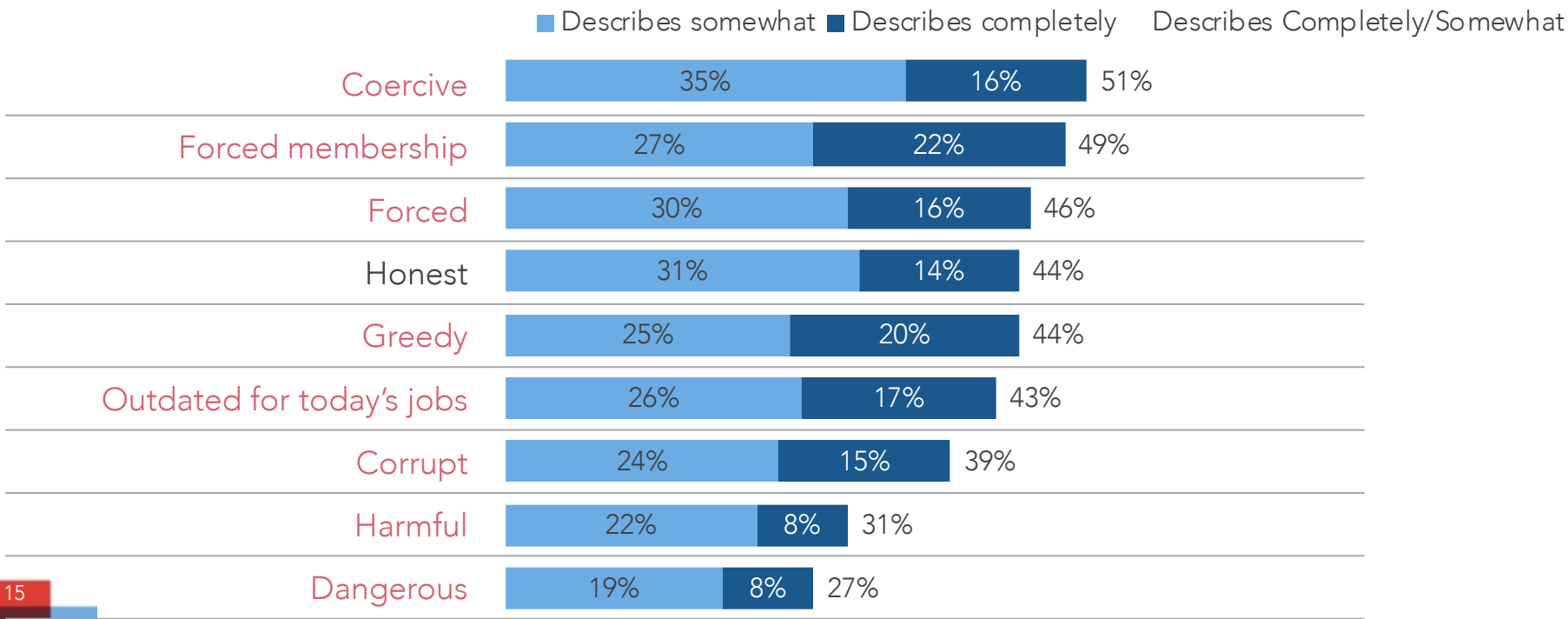
BASE: SPLIT SAMPLE (Base Varies)

Q203. There are lots of different ways to describe labor unions. For each of the following words or phrases please indicate how well you believe it describes most labor unions.

Please note: Red text denotes negative descriptors

On average, there are less intense connections with many of the negative descriptors of labor unions despite a majority believe unions are *political* and *looking out for themselves*.

Descriptors of Labor Unions



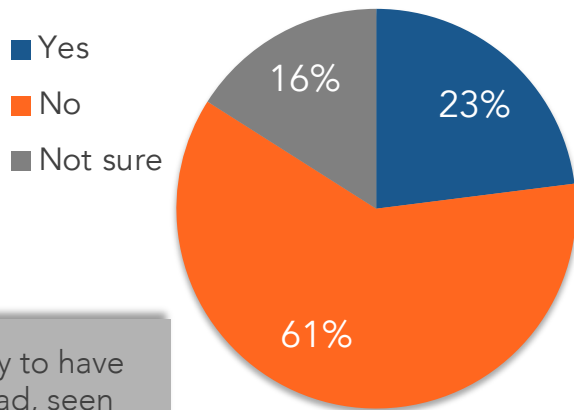
BASE: SPLIT SAMPLE (Base Varies)

Q203. There are lots of different ways to describe labor unions. For each of the following words or phrases please indicate how well you believe it describes most labor unions. Please note: Red text denotes negative descriptors

Less than one in four have heard, read, or seen anything relating to government labor unions recently. Information that was encountered had a slight negative skew.

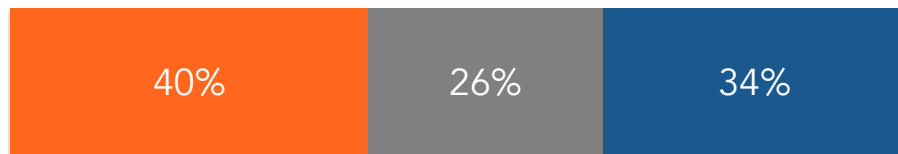
Heard, Read, Seen Anything Related to Government Labor Unions

Have you heard, read, or seen anything?



More likely to have heard, read, seen something:
Ages 18-24 (37%),
Post-graduate (35%)

Did what you hear, read, or see make you feel...?



■ Negative ■ Neither positive nor negative ■ Positive

Mentions of educators/teachers, strikes/demonstrations, and political strife/involvement were most commonly mentioned and most often encountered on TV/on the news.

Information and Sources about Government Labor Unions

What have you heard, read, or seen?



Where did you hear, read or see it?
(Top 3 Codes Shown)

TV/On the news

32%

Online/The Internet

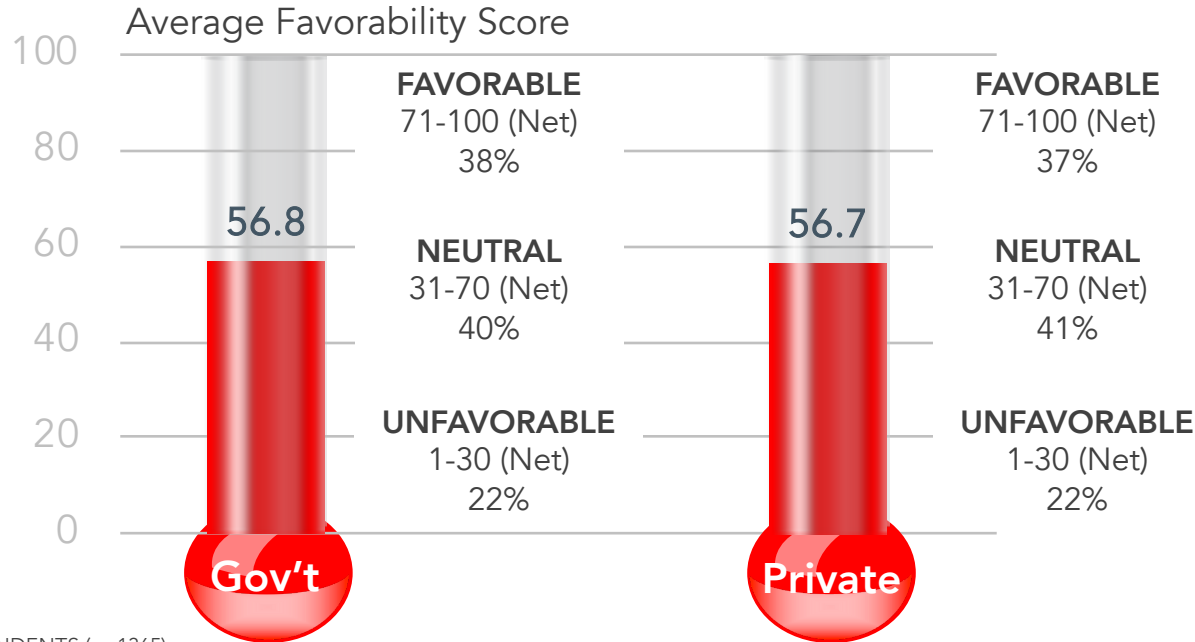
20%

Newspaper/Magazine

19%

Favorability scores toward labor unions are neutral regardless of whether it is associated with government or the private sector.

Favorability Toward Government and Private Labor Unions



BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

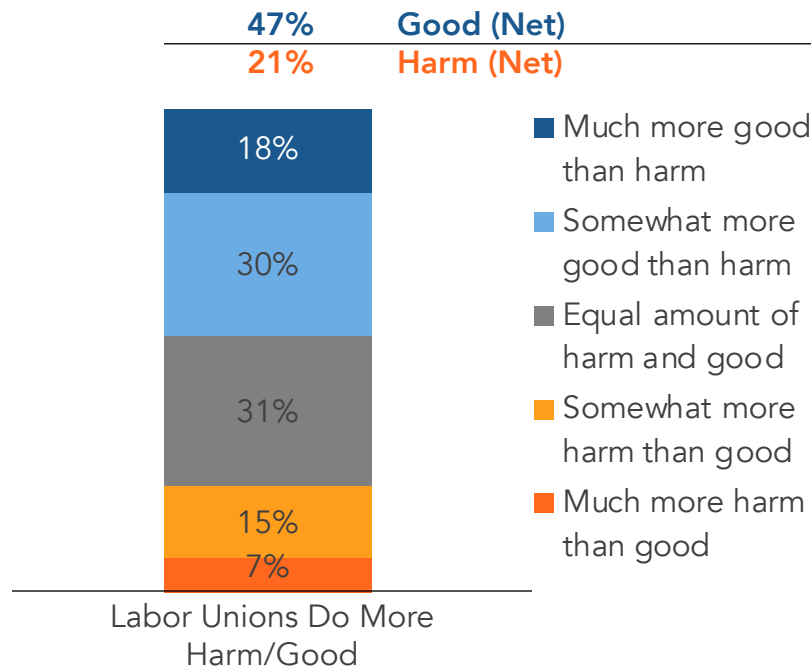
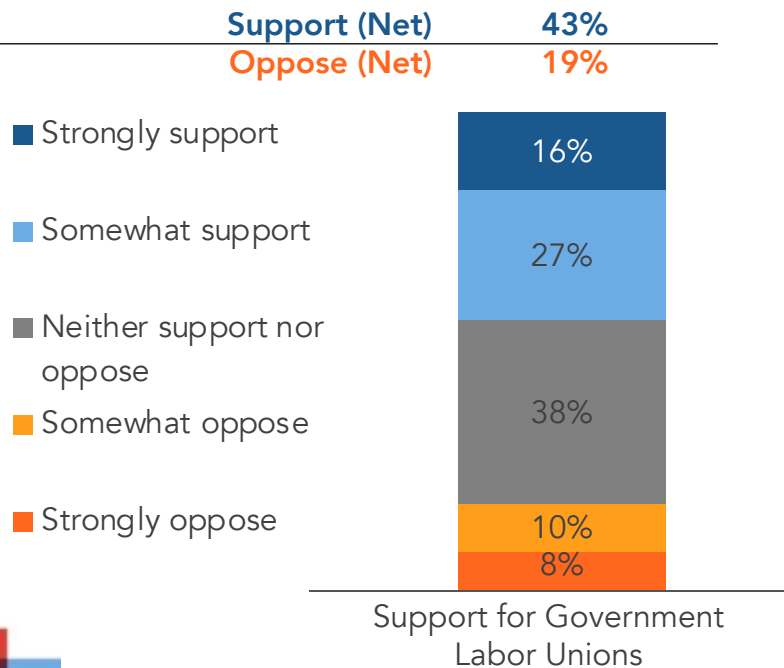
Q210. Please indicate how favorable you are toward government labor unions (public school teachers, firefighters, and police officers), using a scale of 1 to 100 where 1 means you have "extremely cold or negative feelings" toward public employee unions and 100 means you have "extremely warm or positive feelings" toward public employee unions. You can use any number from 1 to 100.

BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q211. Please indicate how favorable you are toward private industry labor unions (auto workers, plumbers, electricians), using a scale of 1 to 100 where 1 means you have "extremely cold or negative feelings" toward private industry labor unions and 100 means you have "extremely warm or positive feelings" toward private industry labor unions. You can use any number from 1 to 100.

On balance, there is more support than opposition for government labor unions and they are seen as doing more good than harm. However there are large groups of neutral Americans who can be moved on the issue.

Views on Government Labor Unions



BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q215. Generally speaking, do you support or oppose government labor unions?

Q220. Overall, do you think labor unions generally do more harm or more good?

Large numbers of all demographic subgroups “neither support nor oppose” government labor unions.

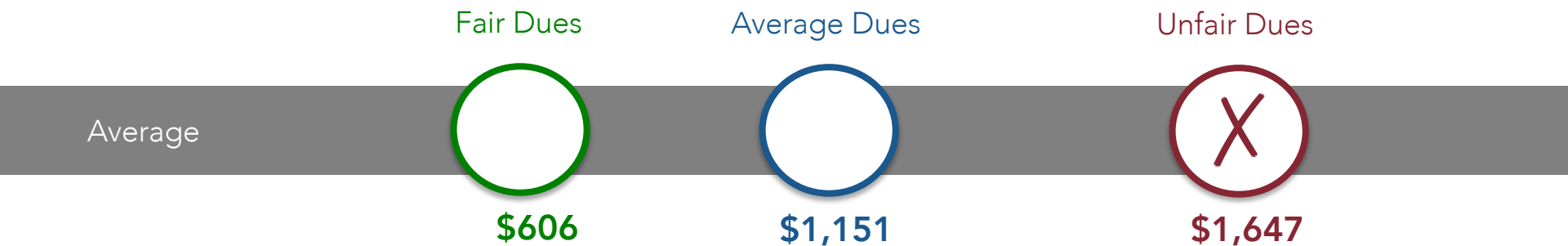
Core	Swing	Anti
<p>Forgotten American Worker (40%)* Republicans (34%)* Economic Conservatives (32%)* Social Conservatives (32%)* Ages 65+ (31%)</p>	<p>Independents (23%) Ages 45-54 (23%) Mountain Region (22%) White (24%) Economic Moderates (16%) Ages 55-64 (24%) Non-Union Sympathetic Household (19%) East North Central (24%) West South Central (16%) Social Moderates (17%) South Atlantic (21%) Non-Union Households (21%)</p>	<p>Male (23%) Post-Graduate Degree (24%) Some College (18%) College Graduate (20%) HS or Less (14%) Female (14%) Middle Atlantic (20%) East South Central (16%) West North Central (18%) Pacific (14%) New England (9%) Ages 35-44 (12%) Union Sympathetic Household (18%) Asian (12%) Hispanic (12%) Ages 18-24 (10%) Ages 25-34 (8%) African-Americans (5%) Social Liberals (7%) Democrats (6%) Economic Liberals (7%) Union Households (7%)</p>

Groups ranked based on net opposition (% oppose - % support). Percent shown is percent who oppose government labor unions.

*More oppose than support

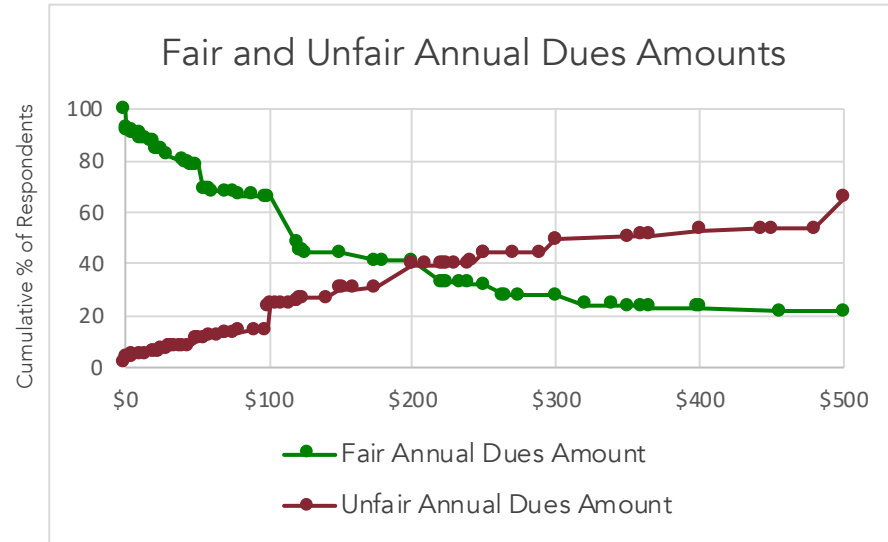
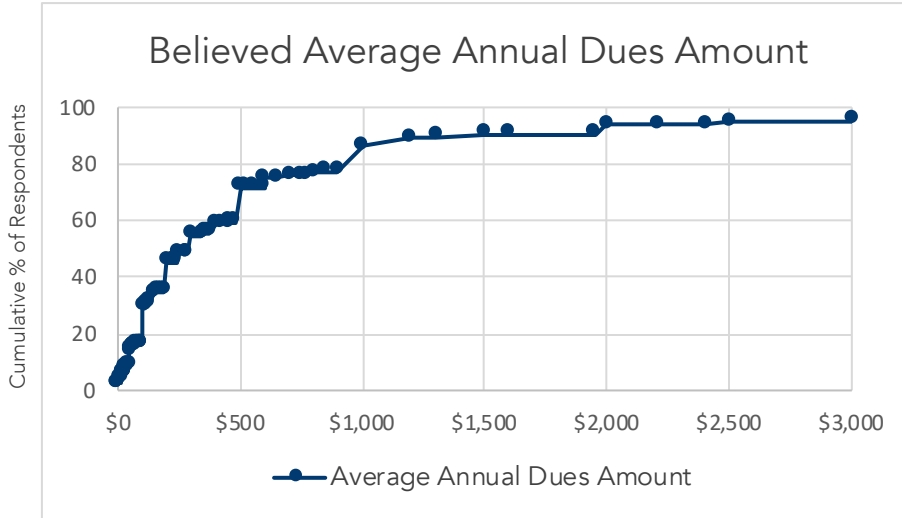
Average dues are more than what respondents would consider fair, but less than what would be considered unfair.

Annual Dues Charged by Labor Unions



Two-thirds of Americans believe anything over \$500 a year for union dues is unfair.

Perceptions of Union Dues



There is strong support for Right-to-Work laws.

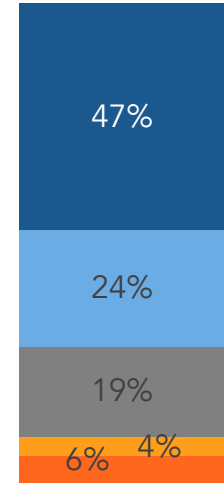
Support for Right-to-Work Laws

Twenty-eight states have laws known as “right-to-work” laws. Under these laws, employees in unionized workplaces cannot be forced to join a union or to pay for any part of the cost of union representation. Workers have complete choice in joining or financially supporting the union.

Support is higher among:
Ages 18-24 (84%),
Republicans (78%), South
Atlantic (76%)

Support (Net) 70%
Oppose (Net) 11%
6:1 Support

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Neither support nor oppose
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose



Support for “Right-to-Work” Laws

The majority of Americans feel that it is inappropriate for government to help unions collect dues from public employee members and gets more agreement phrased as a negative.

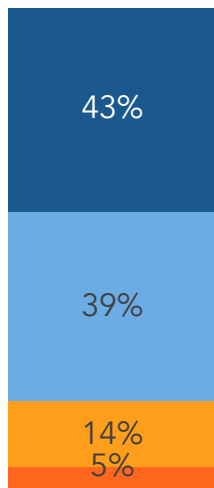
Views on Collecting Dues From Public Employee Members

Agree (Net)
Disagree (Net)

82%
18%

5:1 Agree

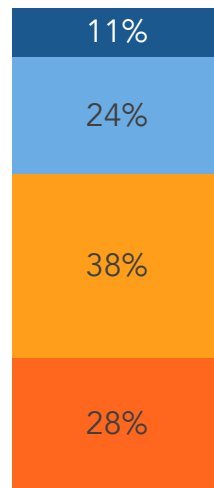
- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree



Never Appropriate for Gov't to Help
Unions Collect Dues from Public
Employee Members

35%
65%

Agree (Net)
Disagree (Net)



Always Appropriate for Gov't to Help
Unions Collect Dues from Public
Employee Members

BASE: SPLIT HALF (n=680)

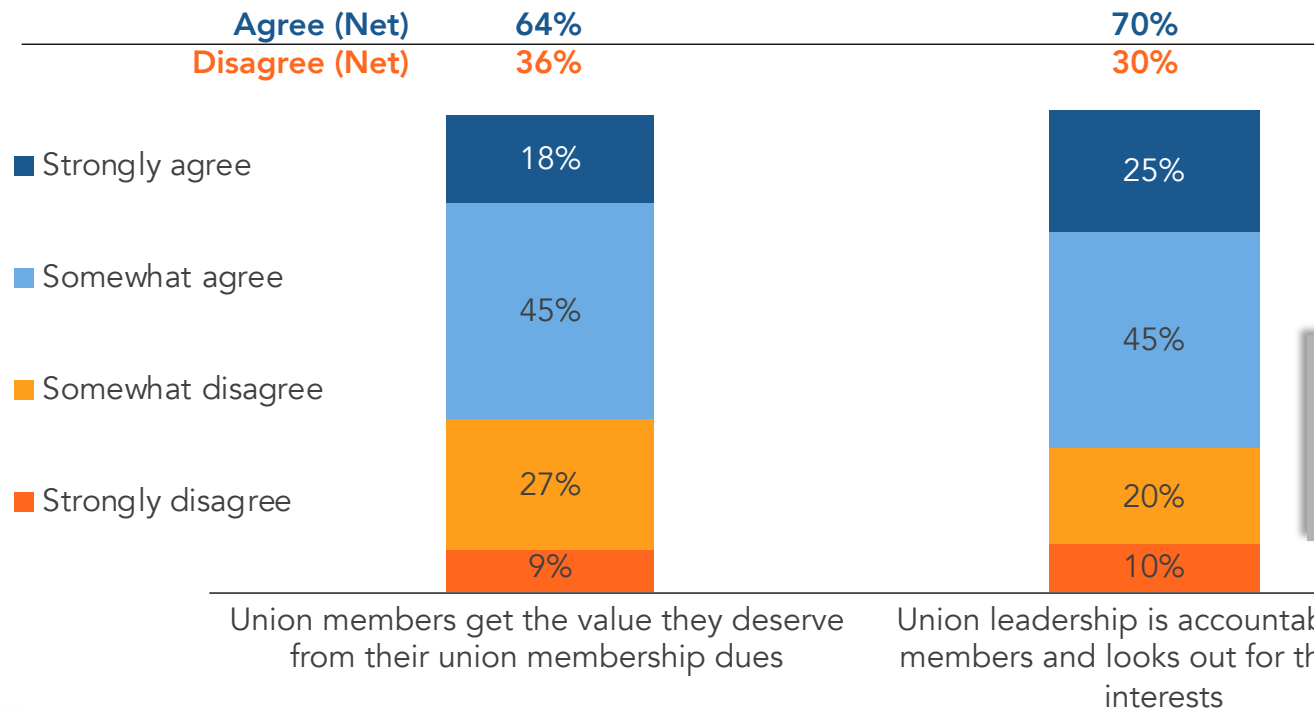
Q235A. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

BASE: SPLIT HALF (n=685)

Q235B. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Most agree that union members get the value they deserve from membership dues and that union leadership is accountable to members.

Value of Dues and Accountability of Leadership



Disagreement higher on both statements among:
Ages 65+,
Forgotten American Worker,
Republicans

BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q228. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

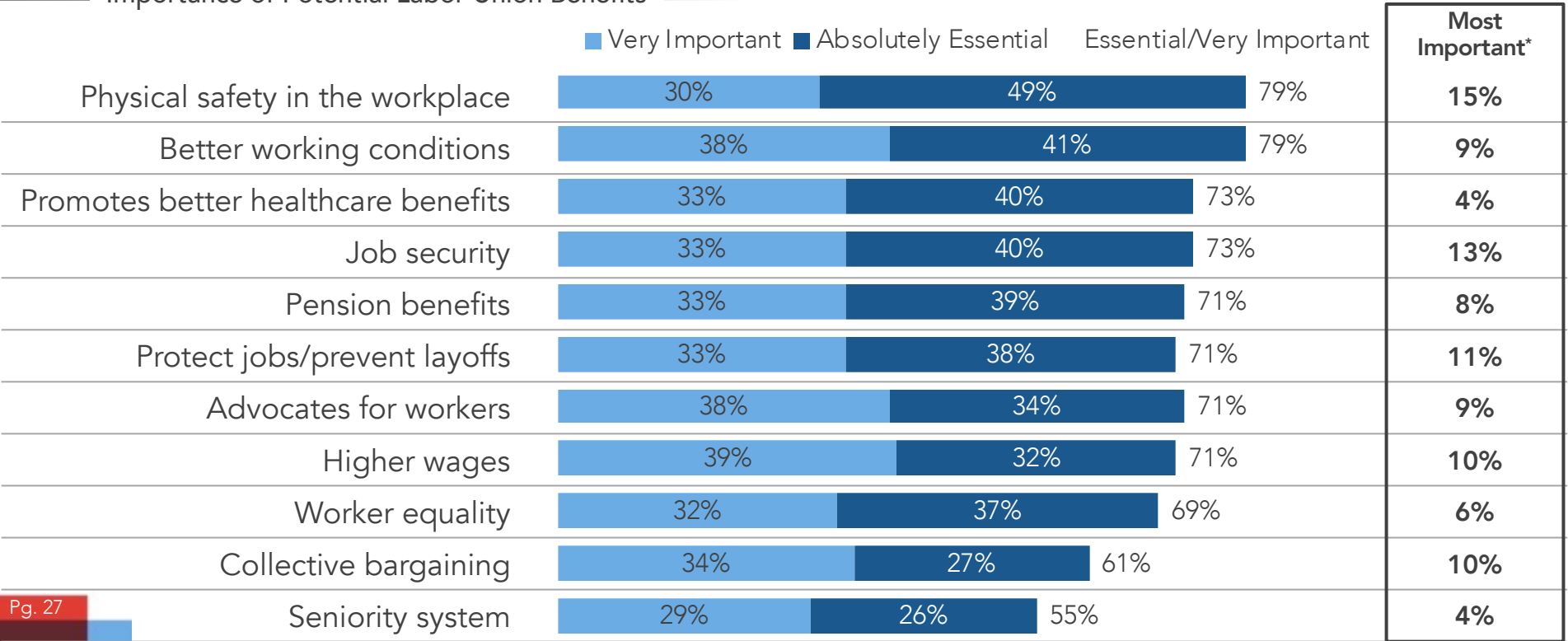
Q229. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

VALUES LADDERING

YOUR GOALS WITH INNOVATIVE RESEARCH WE HELP YOU
UNDERSTAND HOW TO ENGAGE THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF
PEOPLE THAT MATTER MOST TO ACHIEVING YOUR GOALS

The strongest benefits associated with labor unions relate to safety and better working conditions.

Importance of Potential Labor Union Benefits

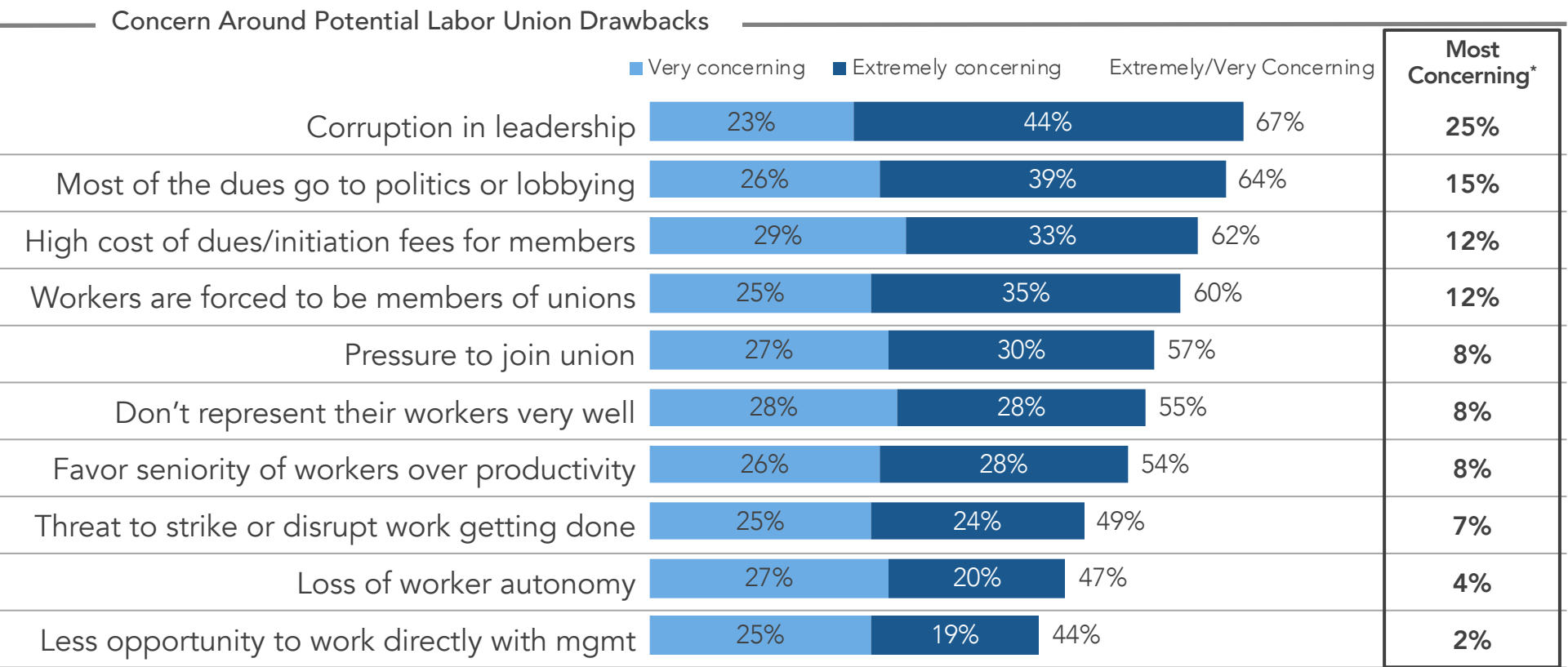


BASE: SPLIT A (n=672)

Q300. There are different benefits connected with labor unions. Thinking about your own personal situation and experiences, for each of the following, please rate how important each potential benefit is to you using the five response options:

*Please note: Information comes from Q302

The biggest concerns relate to corruption and using member dues for politics or lobbying.



The Strategic Hinge of Individual Values

There is a personally relevant connection to the policy...



***Persuade By
Reason,
Motivate By
Emotion***

Connect emotionally by tapping into personal values



The Values Framework...

The Path to Effective Communications



Emotional Level

How we connect with voters' feelings and personal experiences to elicit emotional responses aligned with their core personal values, needs, and wants.

Emotional Benefits & Consequences
(Emotional or social consequences derived from the functional consequences)

Individual Values
(Stable, enduring personal goals)

Rational Benefits & Consequences
(Functional consequences derived from attributes)

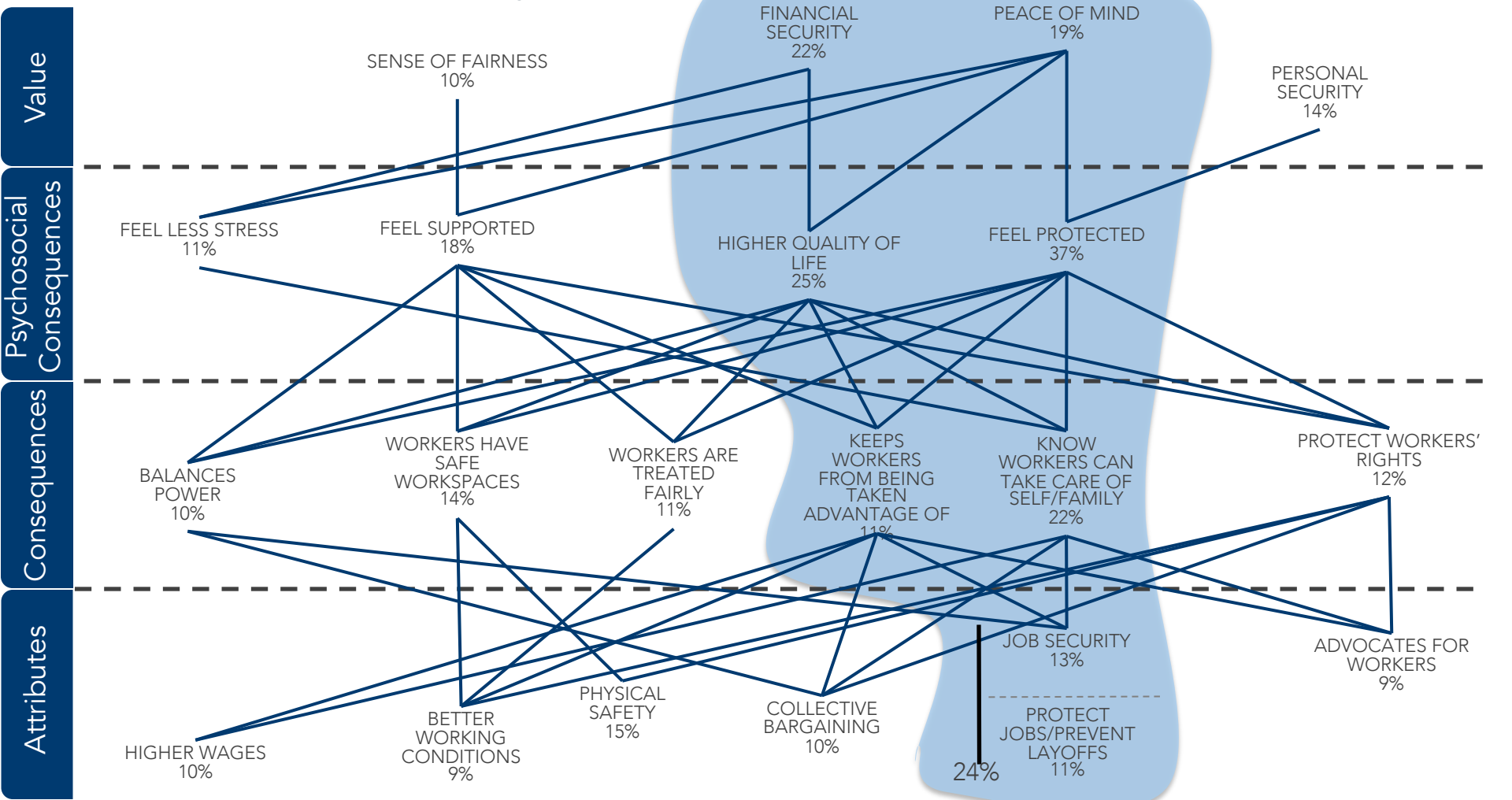
Attributes
(Tangible features/attributes)

Rational Level

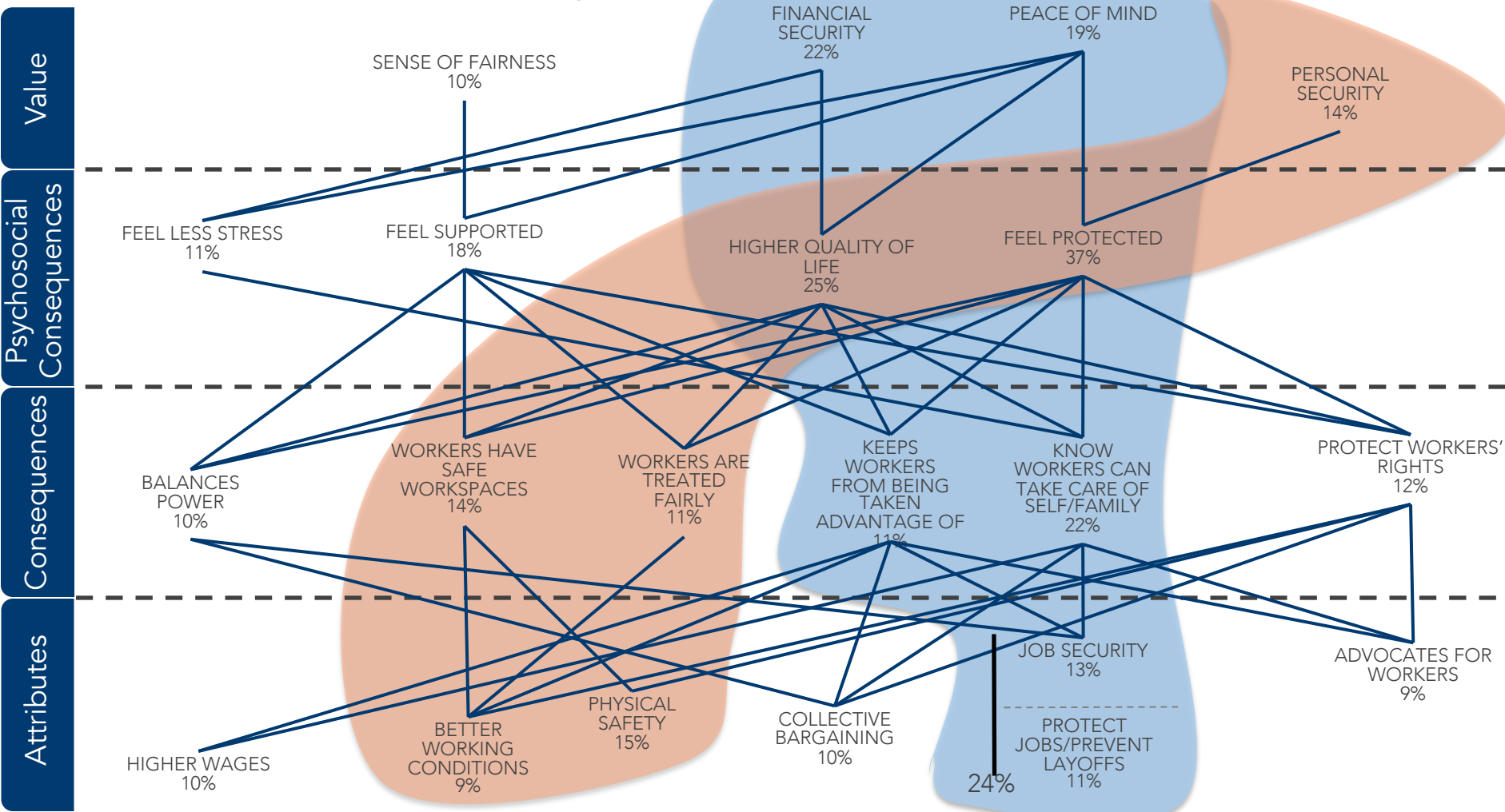
What policies matter most to voters.



Union Benefit Ladder - Primary

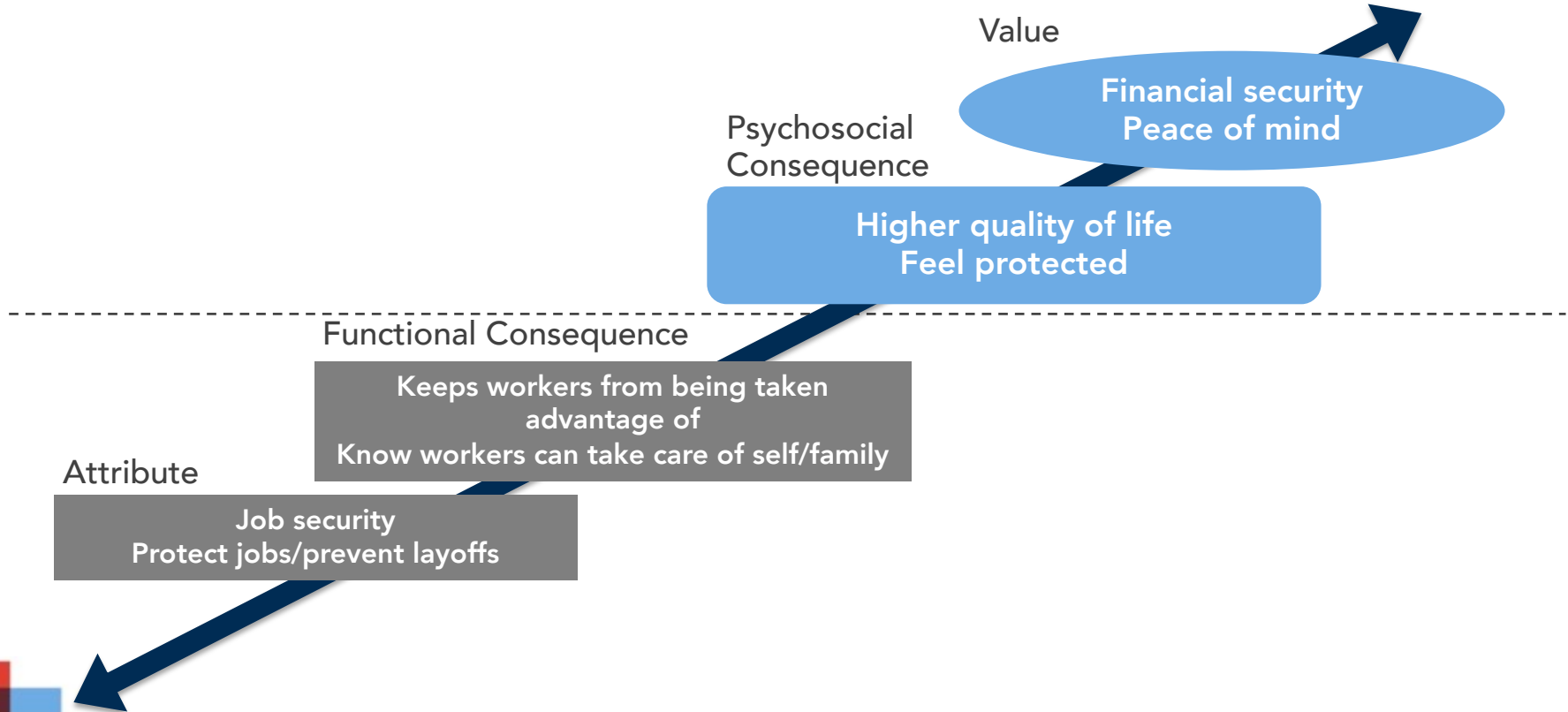


Union Benefit Ladder - Secondary



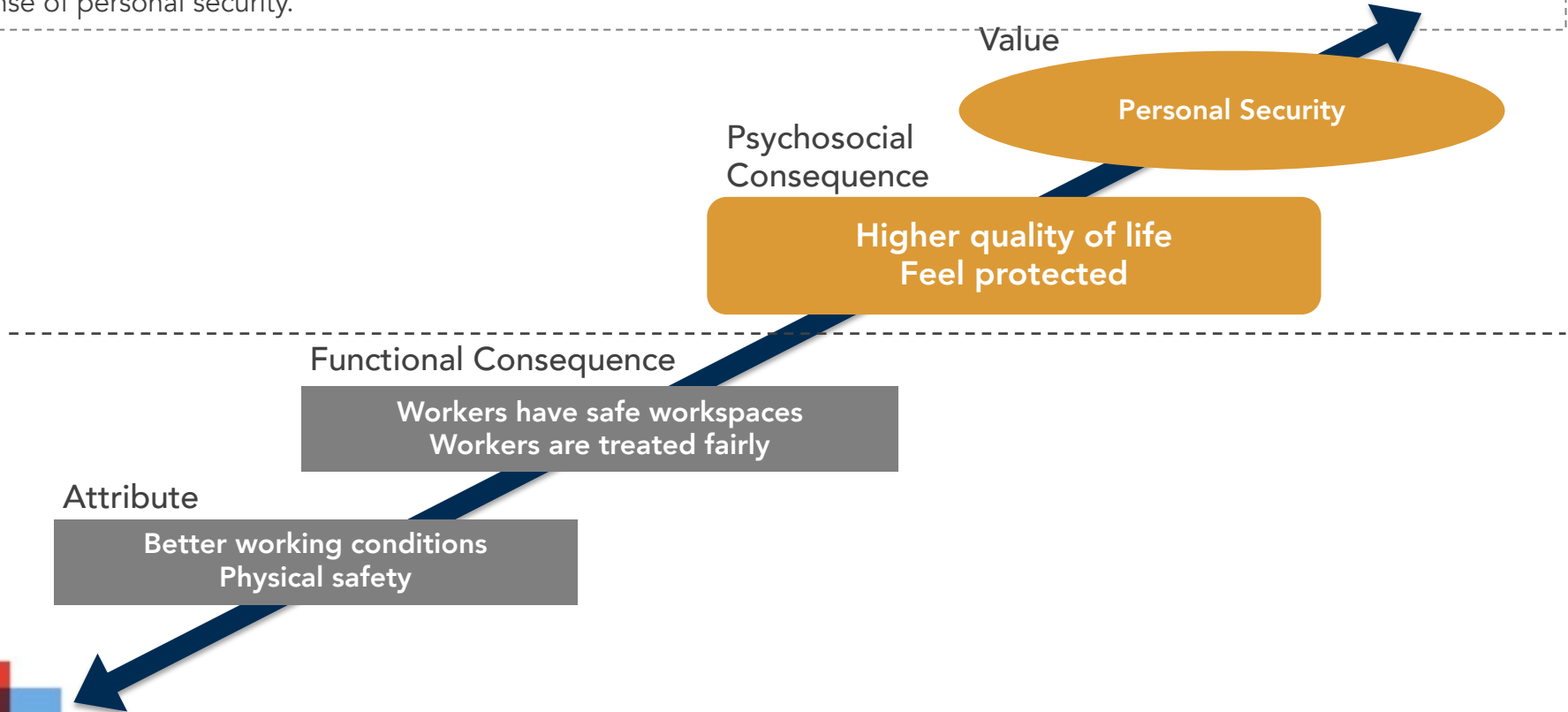
Union Benefit Ladder - Primary

The primary benefit of unions is that they protect jobs which gives people financial security and peace of mind.

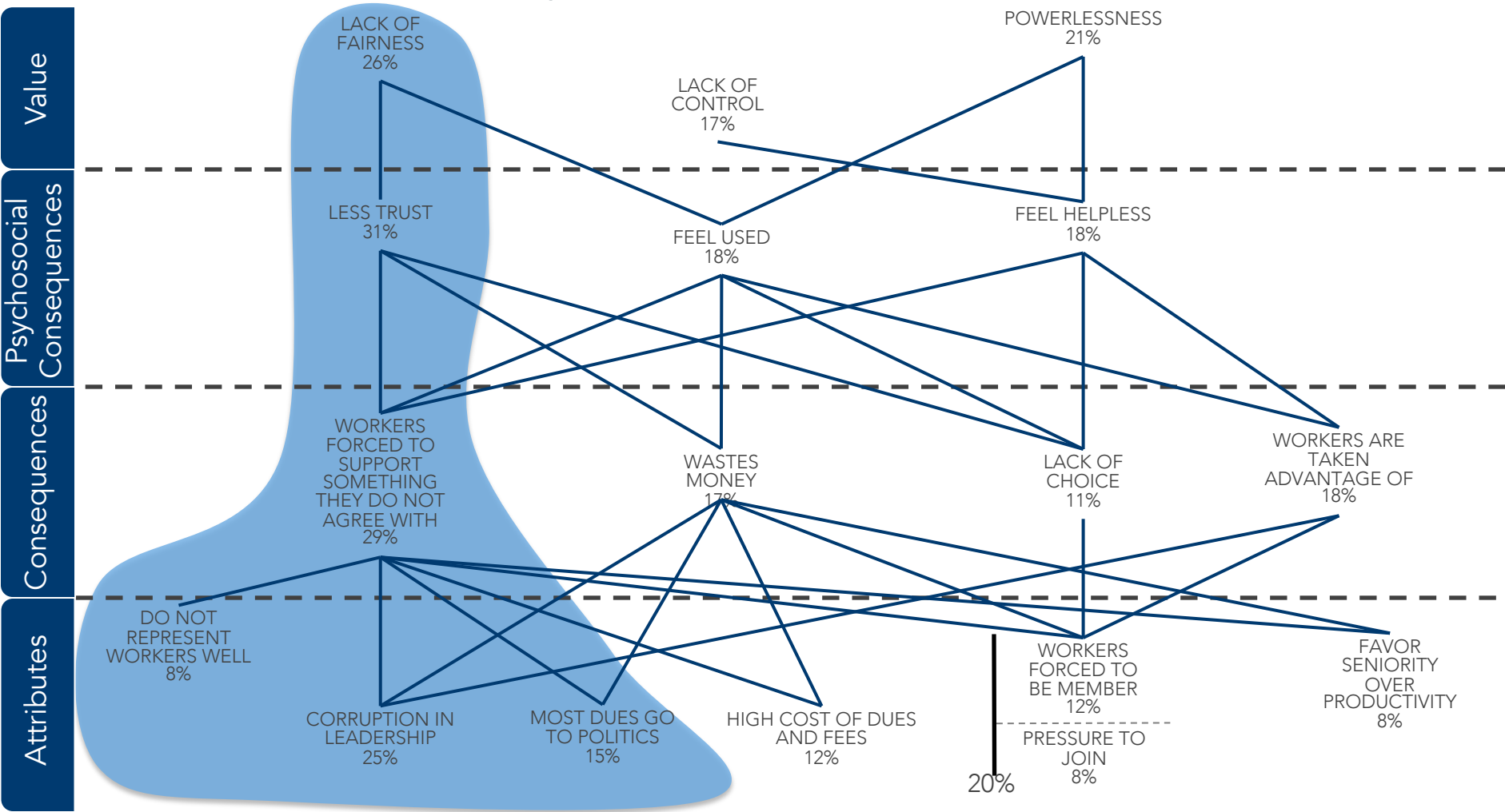


Union Benefit Ladder - Secondary

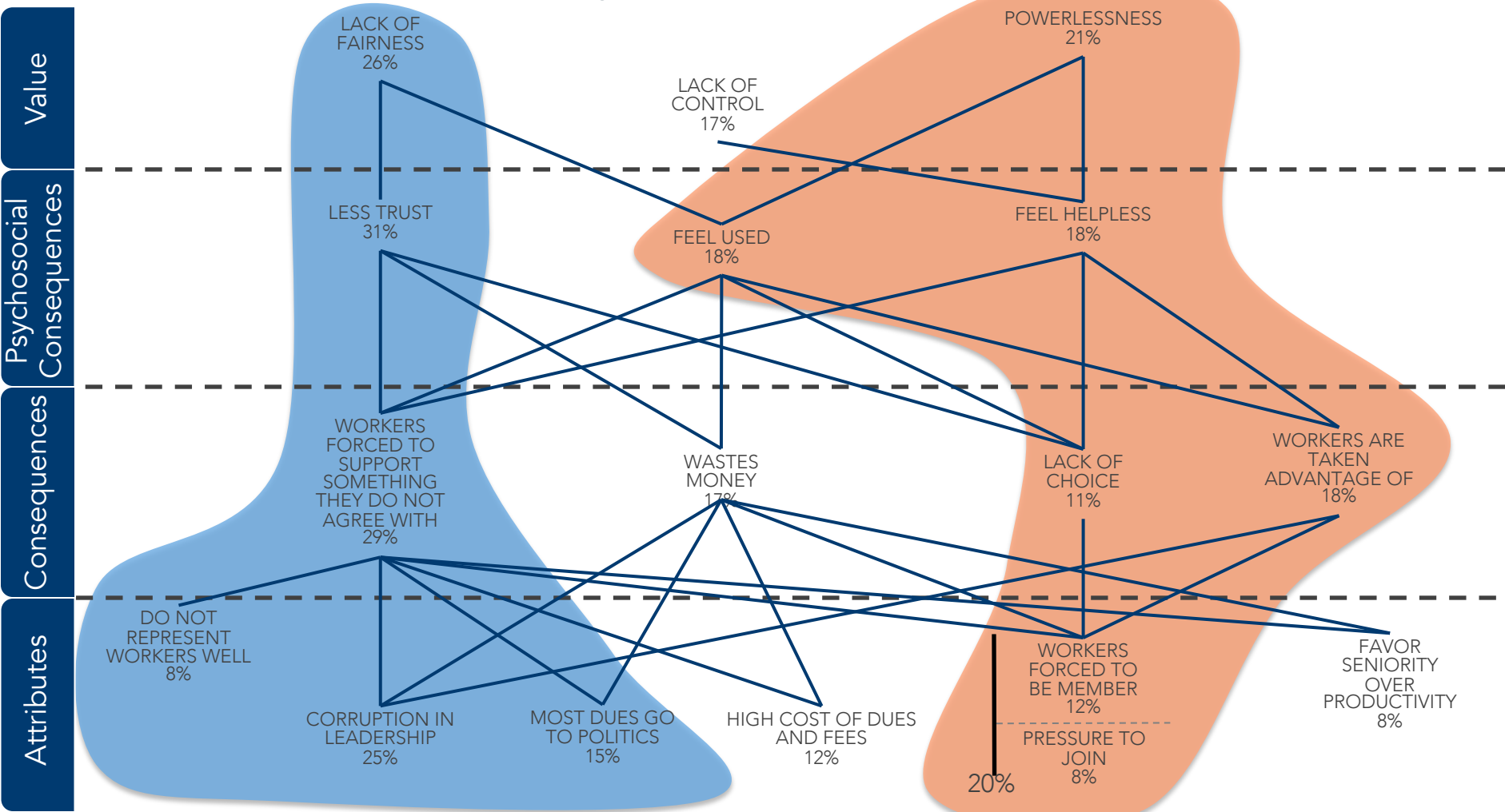
Unions are seen as a strong force for creating good working conditions and physically safe workspaces which gives people a sense of personal security.



Union Concern Ladder - Primary

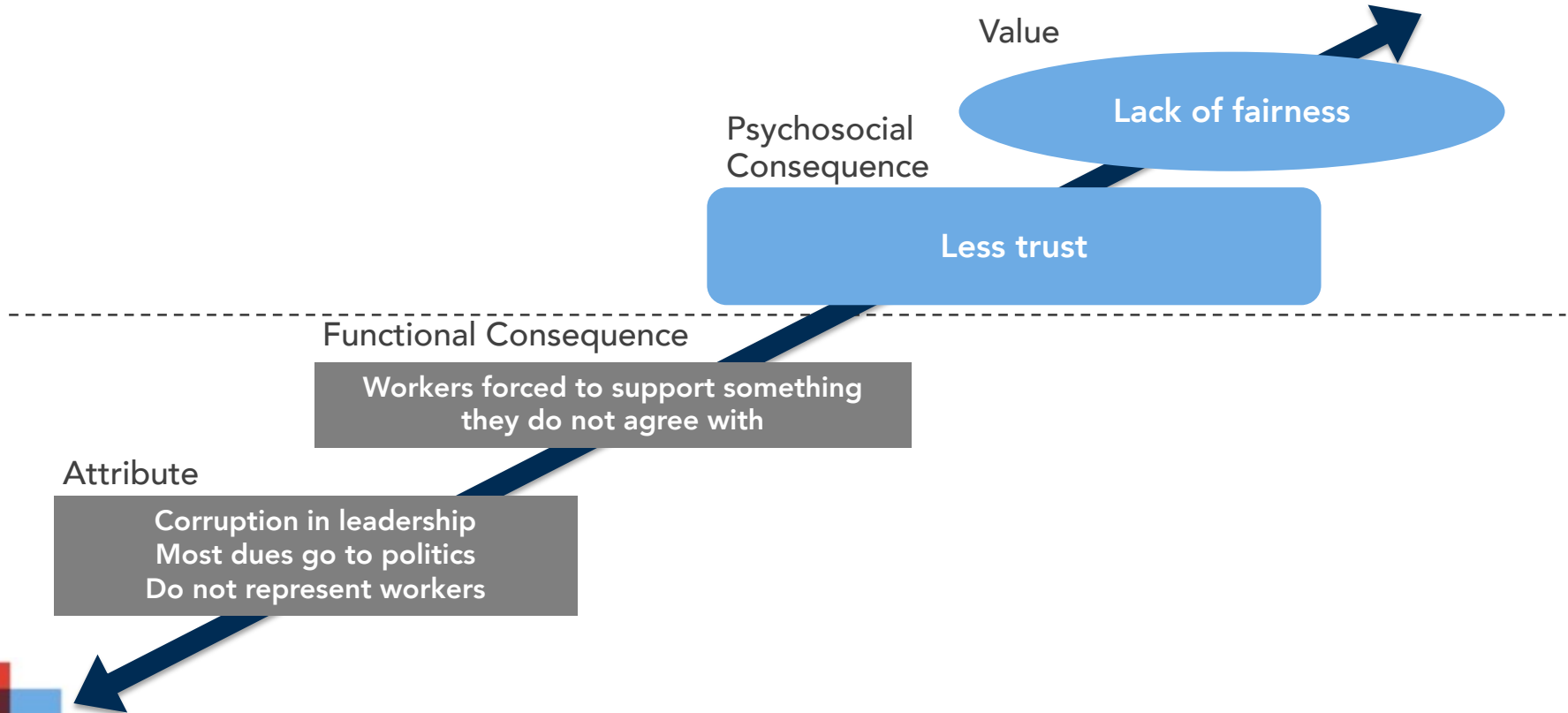


Union Concern Ladder - Secondary



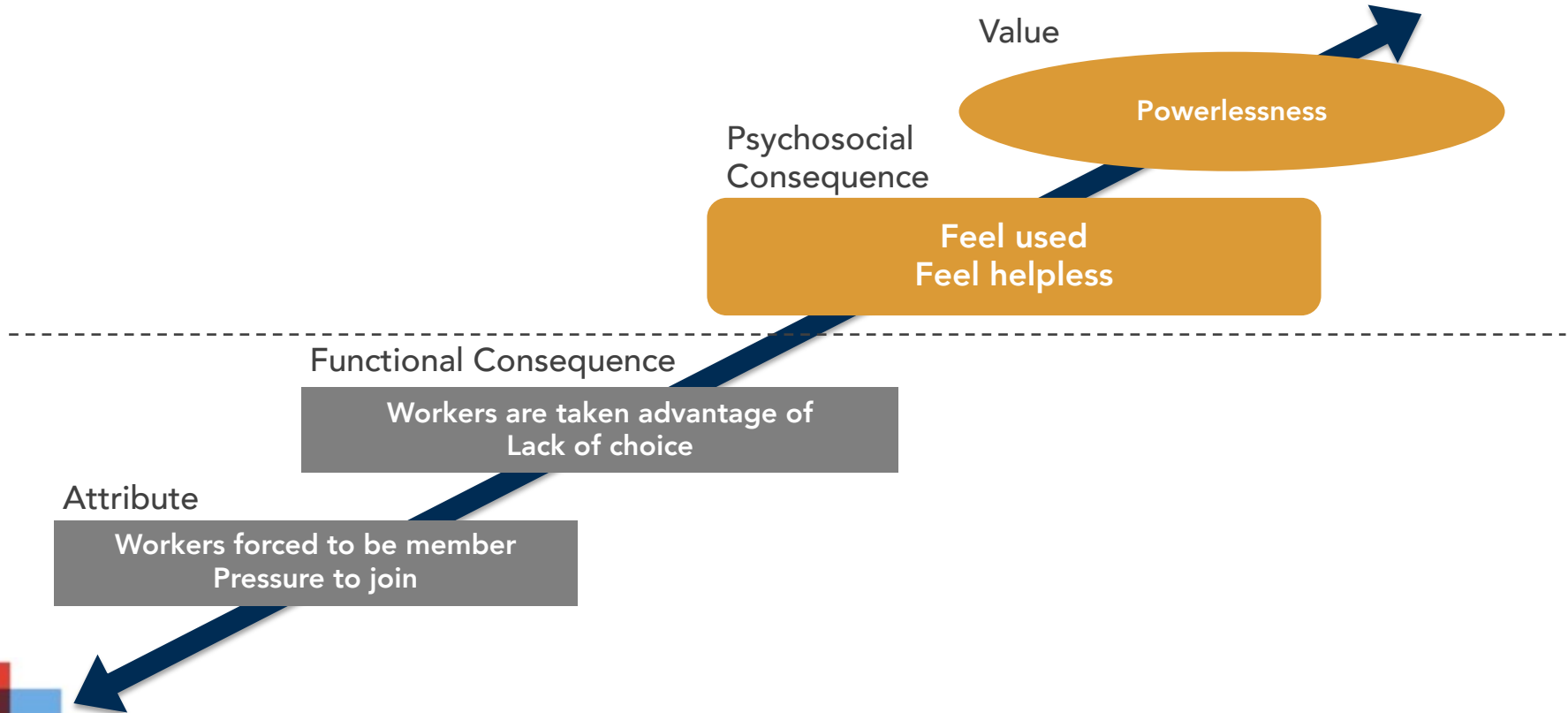
Union Concern Ladder - Primary

Corruption and unions not representing workers erodes trust and makes union seem unfair.



Union Concern Ladder - Secondary

Workers feel like they are being used and have no power when they are forced or pressured to support unions.

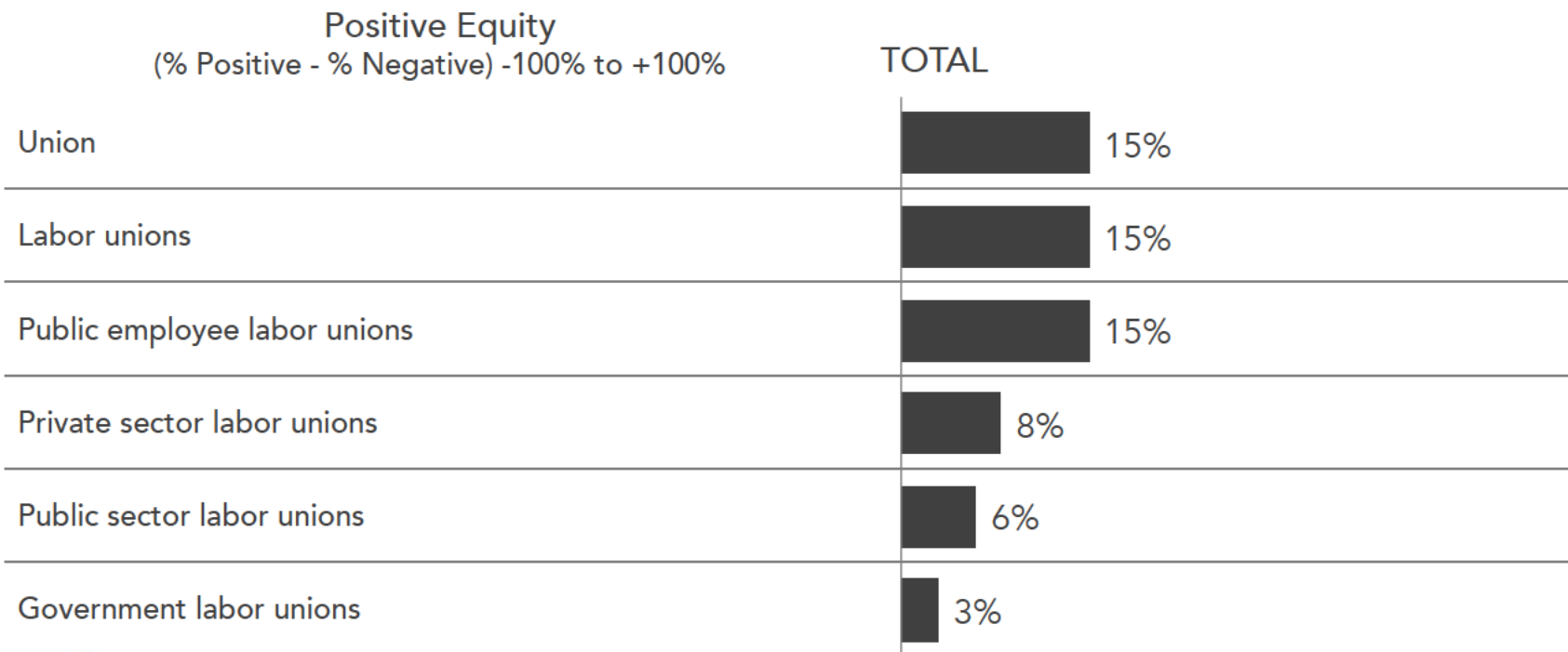


WORD ASSOCIATION AND NAMING

YOUR GOALS WITH INNOVATIVE RESEARCH WE HELP YOU
UNDERSTAND HOW TO ENGAGE THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF
PEOPLE THAT MATTER MOST TO ACHIEVING YOUR GOALS

Terms of labor unions are generally not seen as positive. The most negative way of referring to these groups is *government labor unions*.

Reaction to Words and Phrases



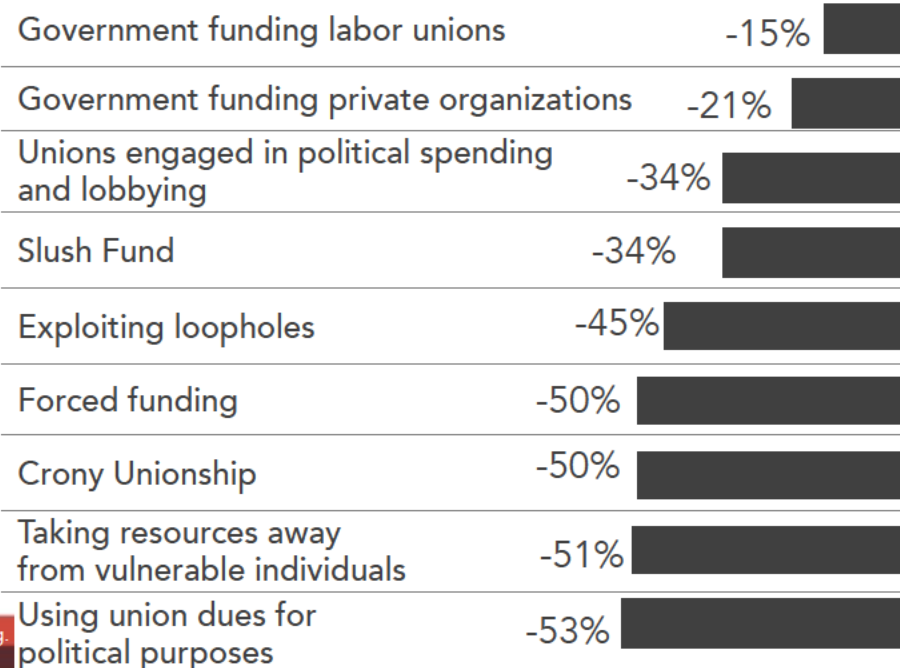
Even before details of *dues skimming* are shared, Americans are highly negative to this phrase.

Reaction to Words and Phrases

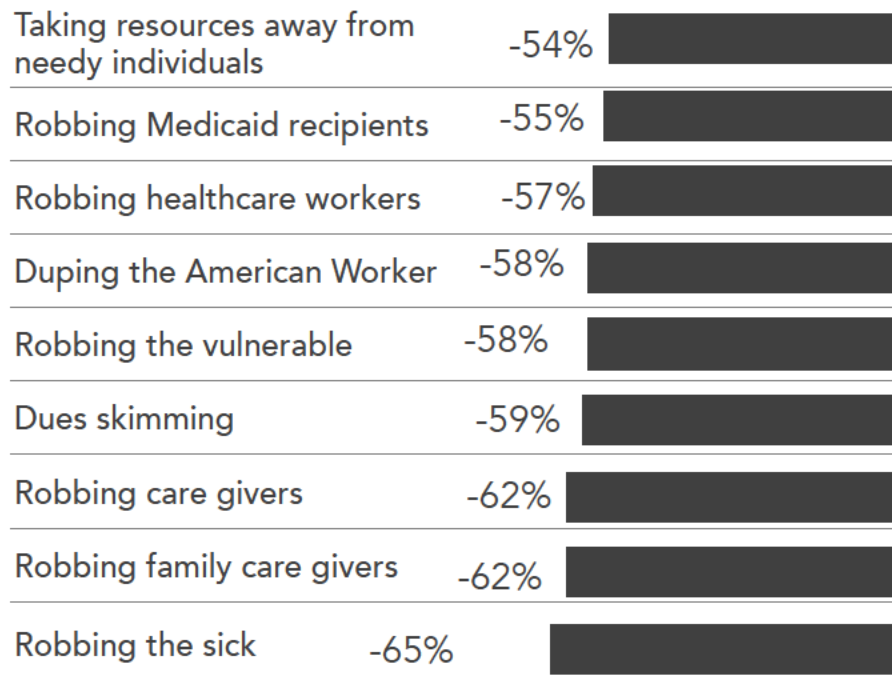
Positive Equity

(% Positive - % Negative) -100% to +100%

TOTAL



TOTAL

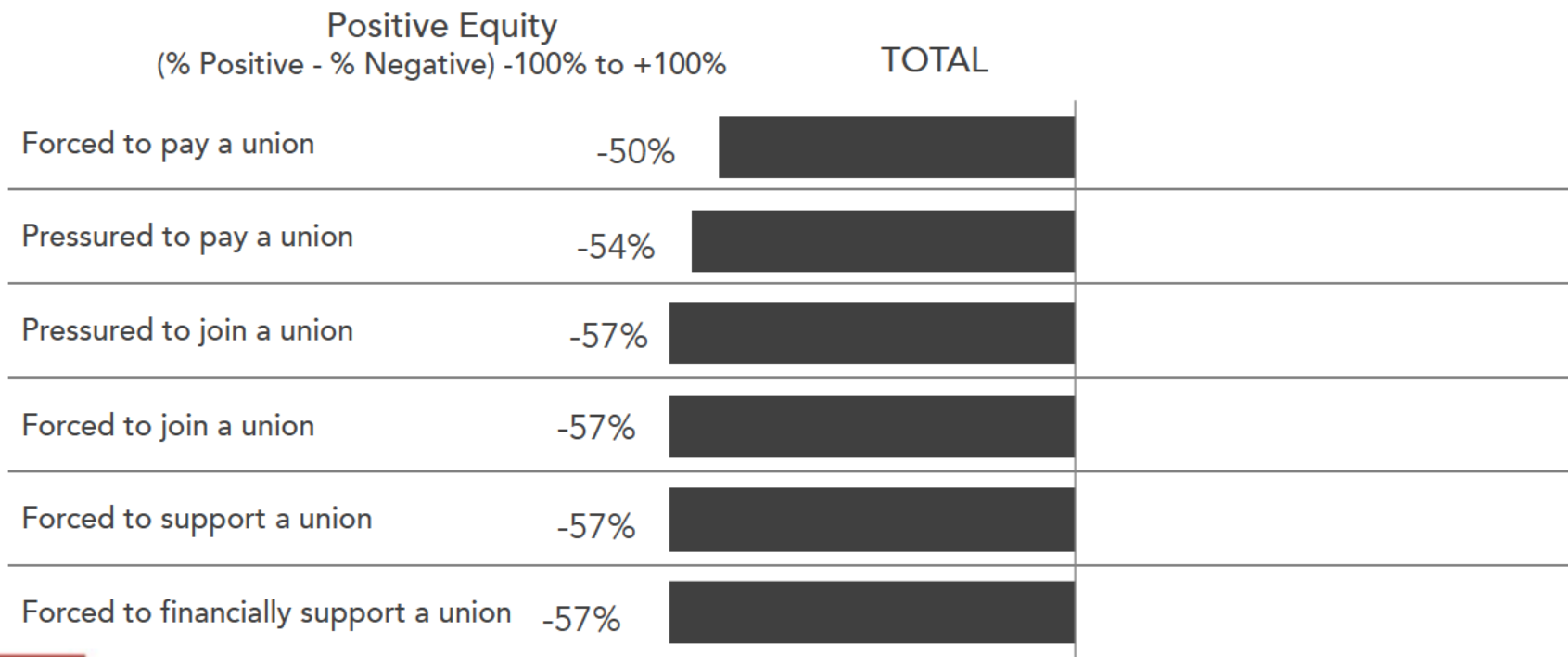


BASE: SPLIT SAMPLE (Base Varies)

Q400. There are lots of different words and phrases that are used when talking about labor unions. For each of the following words or phrases please indicate whether you have a positive, negative, or neutral feeling.

Phrases that imply loss of freedom through the use of the word *forced* also score low. Scores are slightly lower when used in phrases that suggest supporting or joining a union (as opposed to just paying them).

Reaction to Words and Phrases



Conversely, when mentioning *freedom* scores flip and are positive.

Reaction to Words and Phrases

Positive Equity
(% Positive - % Negative) -100% to +100%

TOTAL

Freedom of choice

64%

Workplace freedom

54%

Fair to workers

53%

Worker choice

53%

Worker freedom

49%

Right-to-work

47%

Choice to join a labor union

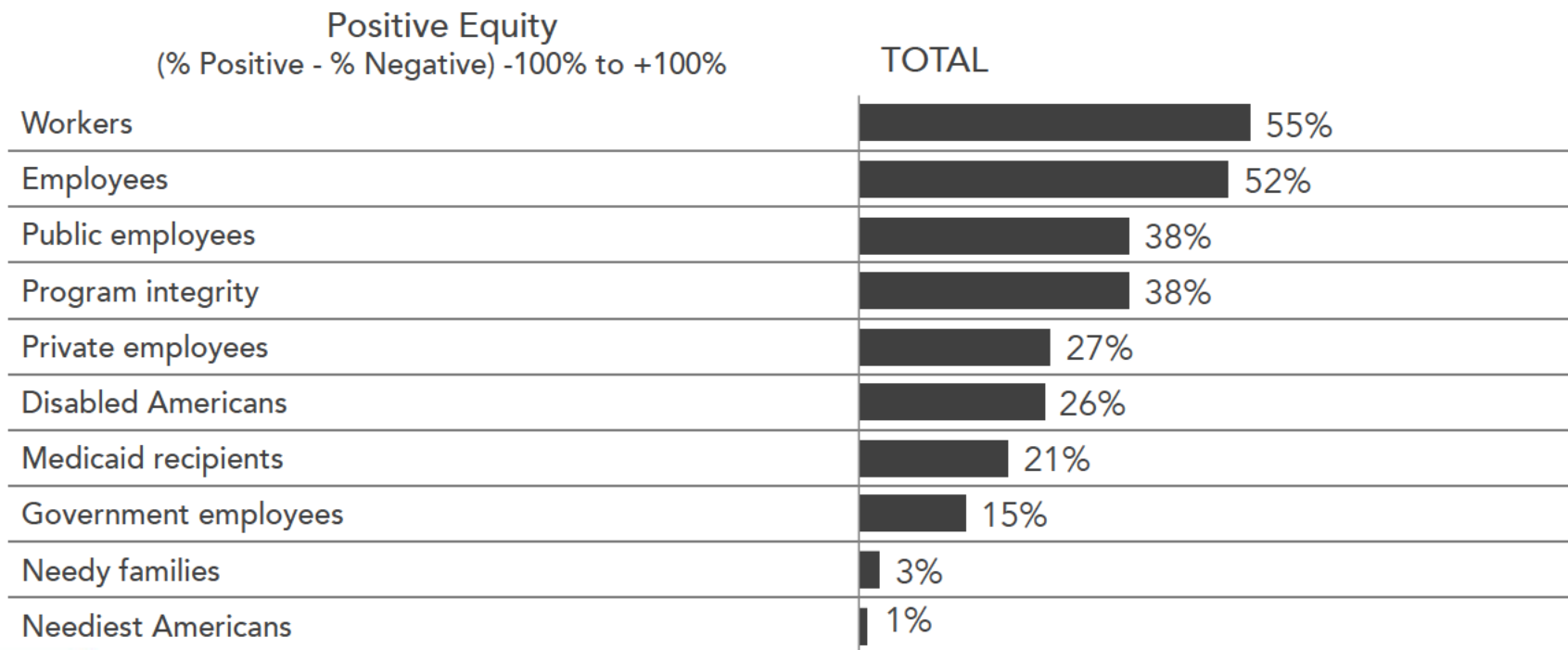
46%

Unions accountable to members

45%

Many traditionally sympathetic groups like *needy families* test in the neutral range without greater context.

Reaction to Words and Phrases



Slush fund is a strongly negative phrase, even more so than *government funding of private organizations*.

Reaction to Words and Phrases

Positive Equity

(% Positive - % Negative) -100% to +100%

TOTAL

Low-income families

0%

Low-income elderly

-1%

Ill Americans

-7%

Low-income children

-8%

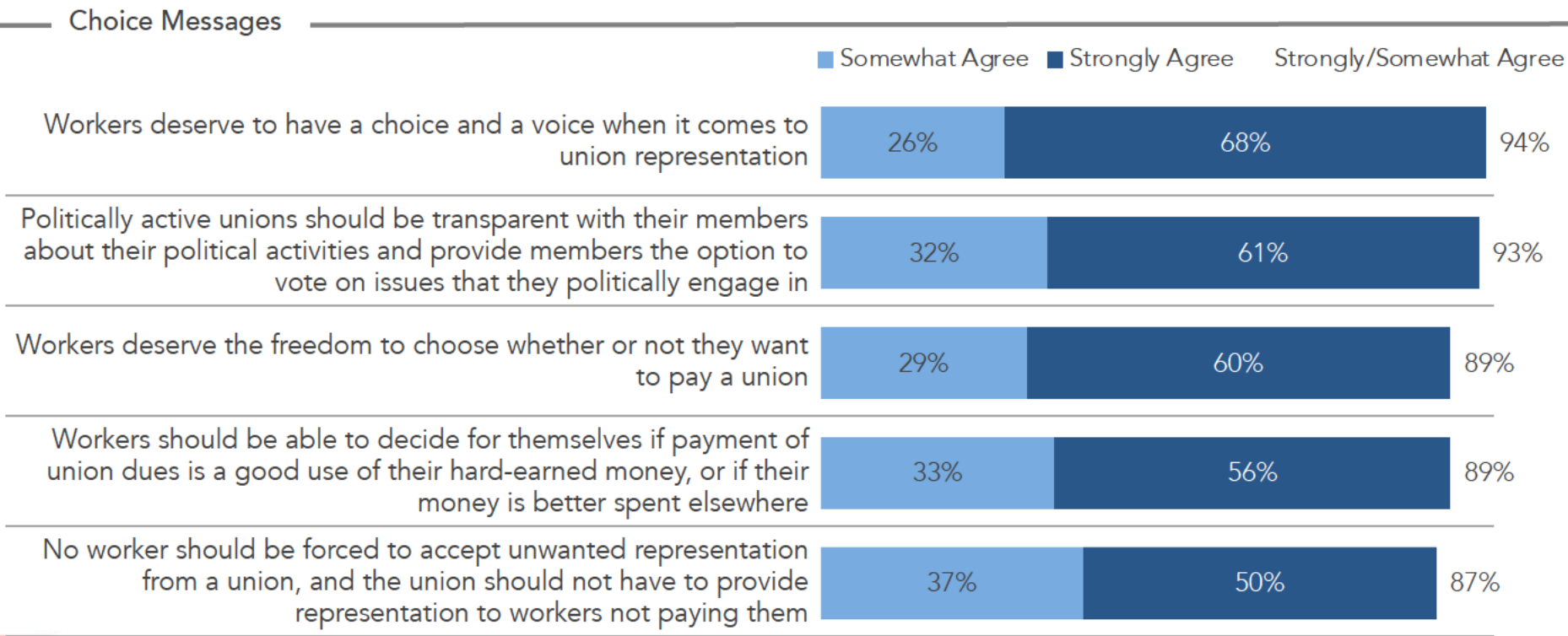
Vulnerable Americans

-10%

GENERAL MESSAGE TESTING

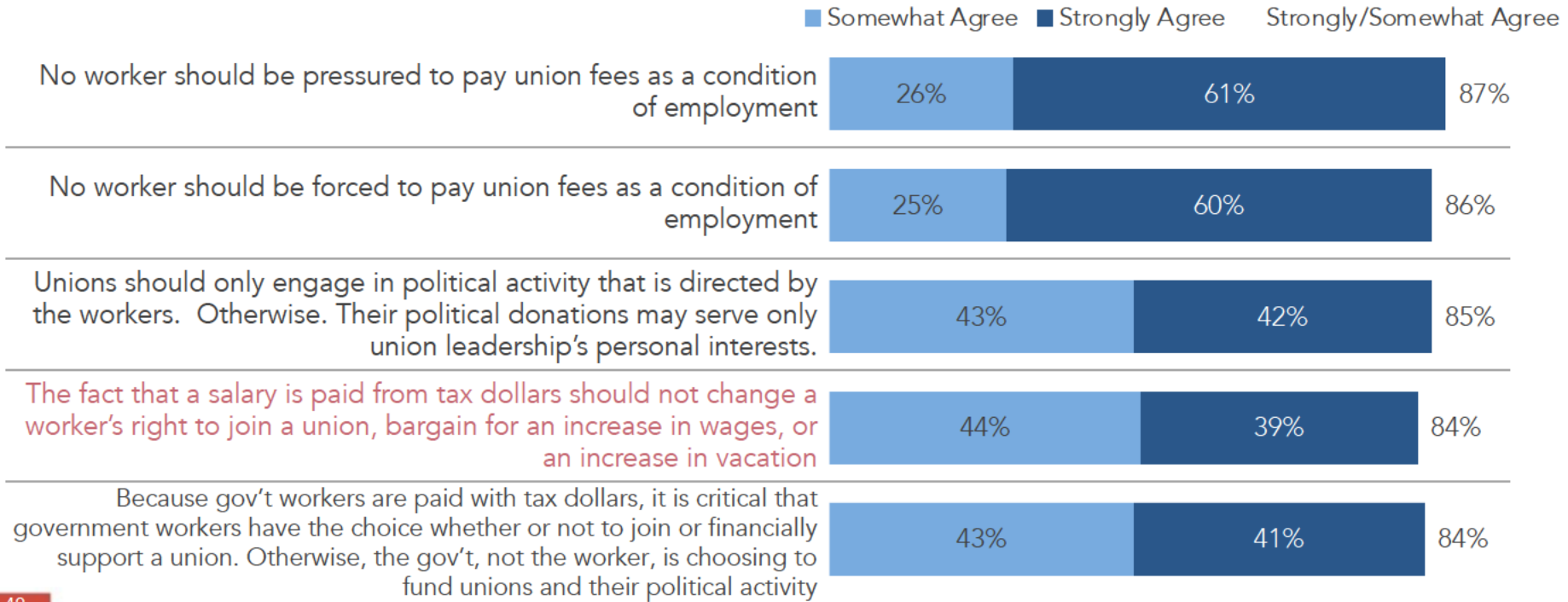
YOUR GOALS WITH INNOVATIVE RESEARCH WE HELP YOU
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Statements that reflect freedom & choice, representation & transparency are the most effective.



Freeing workers from engaging with unions as a “condition of employment” tests well.

Choice Messages

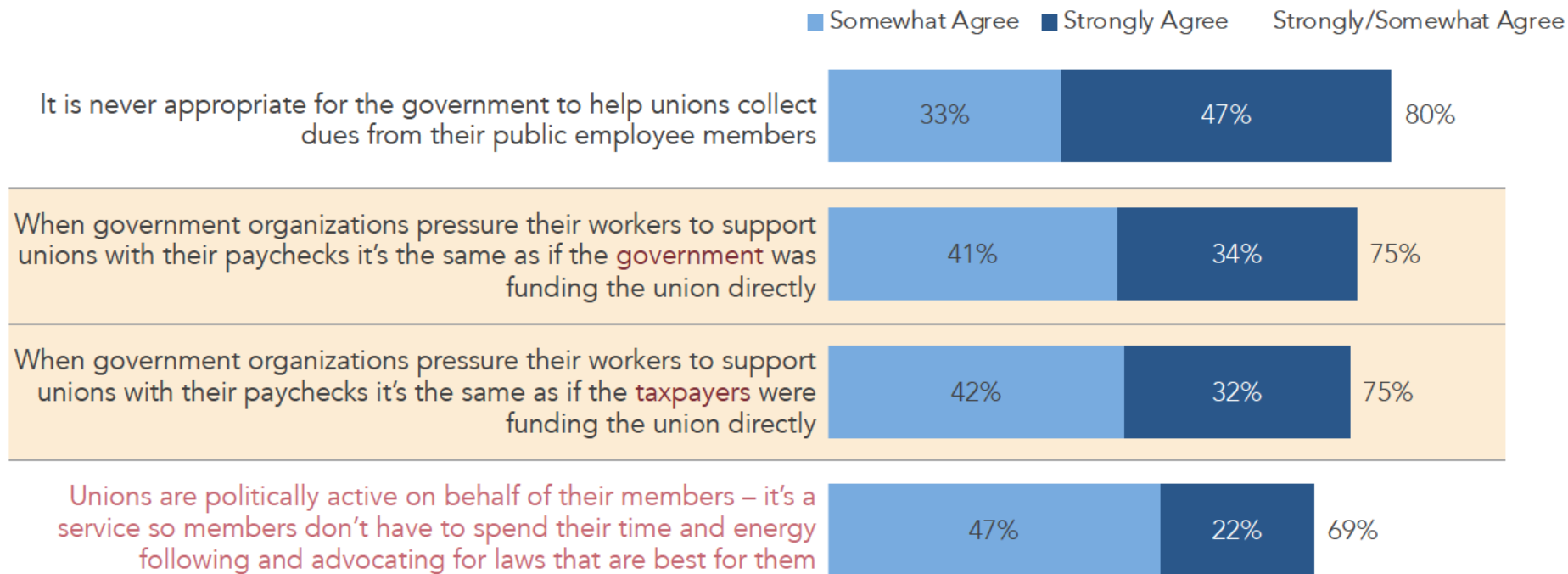


BASE: SPLIT SAMPLE (Base Varies)

Q500. The following is a list of statements. For each one, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree.

Messages about *government unions* being the same as funding unions directly score lower than other messages about worker choice.

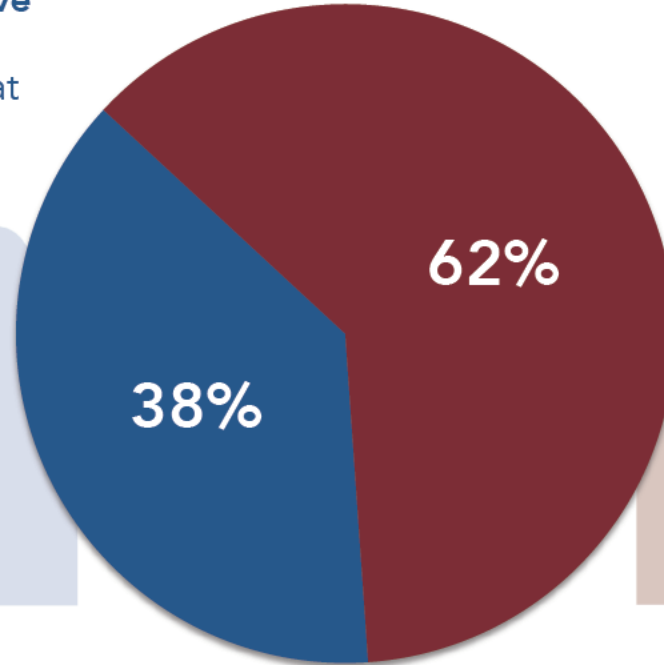
Choice Messages



About two-thirds believe that labor unions should exist to fight for all workers, even those who do not pay.

Views on Labor Union Representation

Smith believes **workers should have to represent themselves** if they choose not to join a labor union that exists at their job



Miller believes that **labor unions exist to fight for all workers** and should be bargaining for better conditions for all workers, even those who have chosen not to join

A plurality feel that no union, public or private, should be allowed to support political candidates with dues; just one-in-five believe public unions should be able to engage in politics with dues money.

Views on Public Sector Unions and Political Candidate Support

Johnson believes public sector unions are like any other unions and that **no union should be allowed to support political candidates** with union dues.

Wilson believes public sector unions **should not be engaged in supporting candidates with union dues** because they may later bargain with those elected officials over wages and benefits, creating a conflict of interest.

Davis believes public sector unions are like any other unions and **should be allowed to support candidates as they choose** with union dues.



DUES SKIMMING

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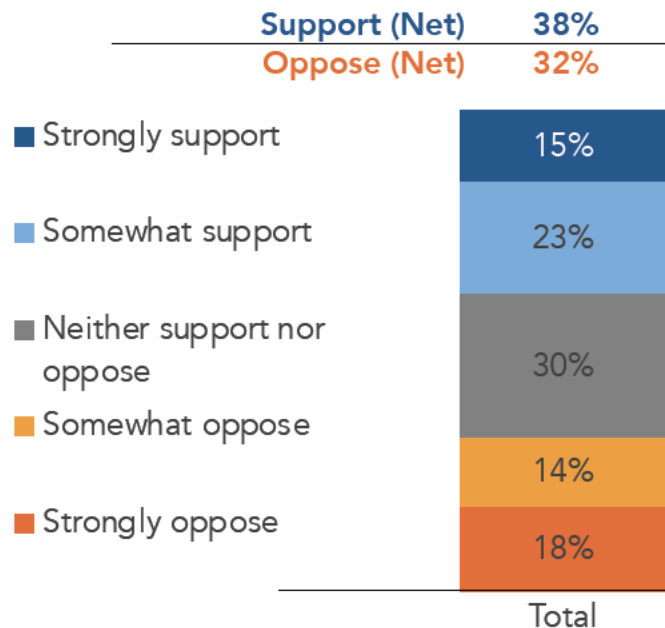
People are mixed about the government funding private organizations, with a sizeable number unsure.

Support for Funding Laws



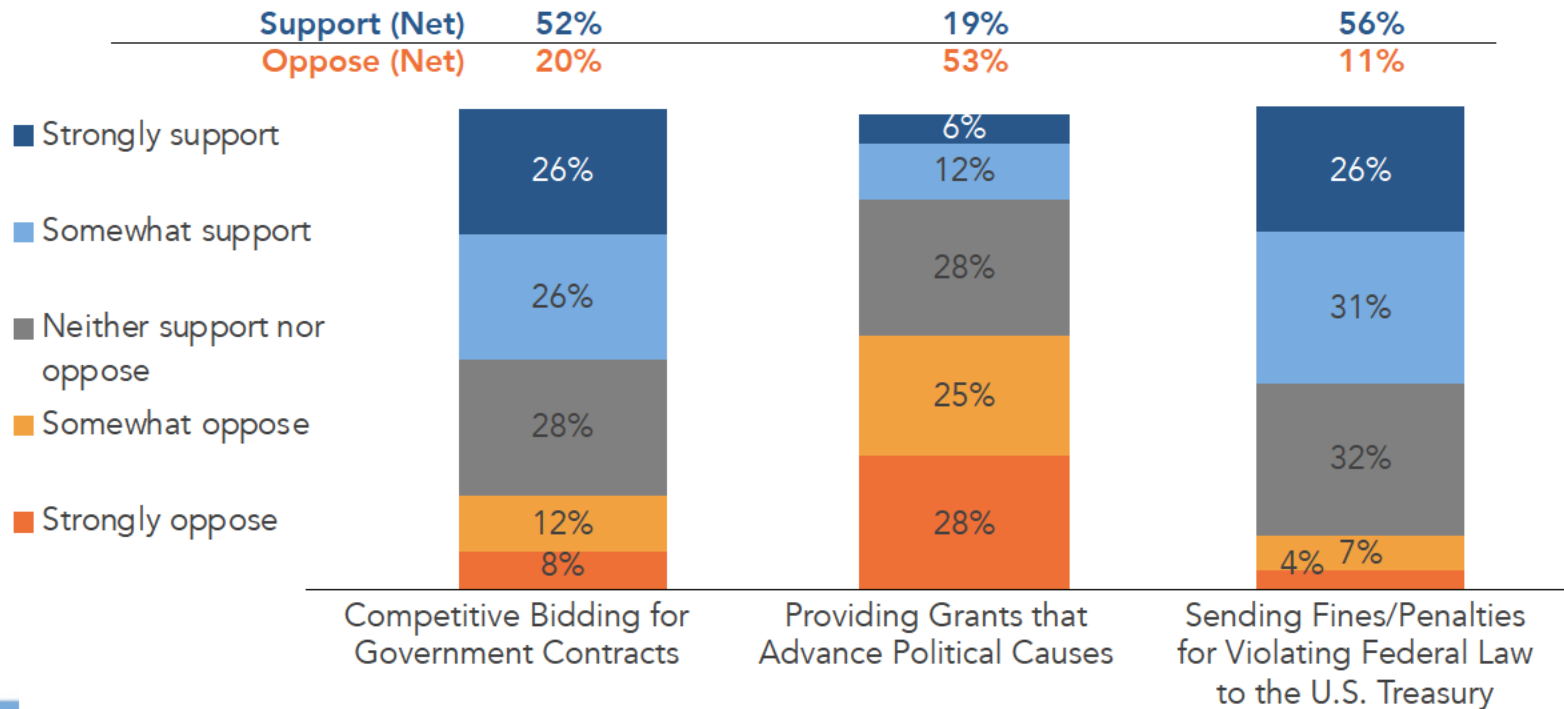
Sometimes the federal government provides taxpayer funds to private organizations. This can be done by awarding contracts to provide services to the government, providing grants to run specific programs, or redirecting fines or penalties.

These funds can end up supporting favored causes and advancing political agendas. For example, over the years, there have been laws passed requiring government funding of both Planned Parenthood and Crisis Pregnancy Centers.



A majority support government political neutrality, including competitive bidding for government contracts, sending fines directly to the U.S. Treasury (rather than redirecting to private organizations) and forbidding government grants to political groups.

Views on Dues Skimming



BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q701. In general, do you support or oppose competitive bidding for government contracts?

Q702. In general, do you support or oppose providing grants that advance political causes?

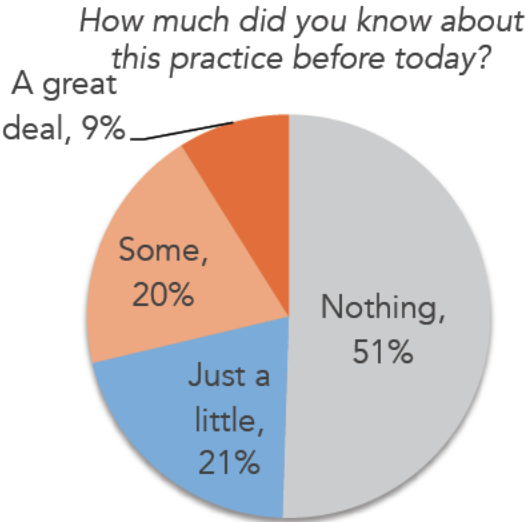
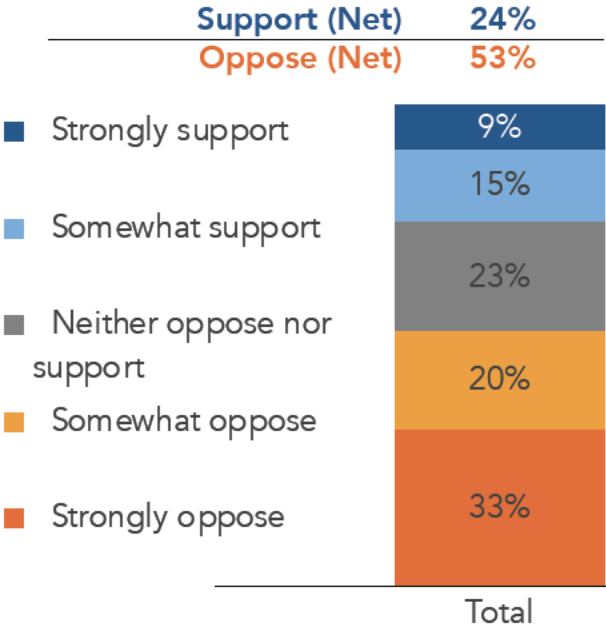
Q703. In general, do you support or oppose sending fines and penalties for violating federal law to the U.S. Treasury?

While few are familiar with the practice, most oppose Medicaid dues skimming.



Views on Medicaid Dues Skimming

Across the country there are many different people who receive assistance from Medicaid. Medicaid money is sent directly to caregivers of low-income elderly, disabled or ill individuals to pay them to provide in-home care (rather than the beneficiary being enrolled in an institution like a nursing home). In many cases, the money is used to pay a family member to provide care. In several states, care givers are heavily pressured to join a union or may be allowed to opt out, but with great difficulty. In these states the government automatically deducts a portion of the Medicaid payment to go directly to the union and not to the caregiver. Some states have made arrangements to automatically sign up caregivers as members with membership fees coming directly out of their Medicaid payments.



Opposition higher among:
Forgotten American Workers (69%),
Ages 65+ (66%),
Mountain Region (64%),
Ages 55-64 (63%)

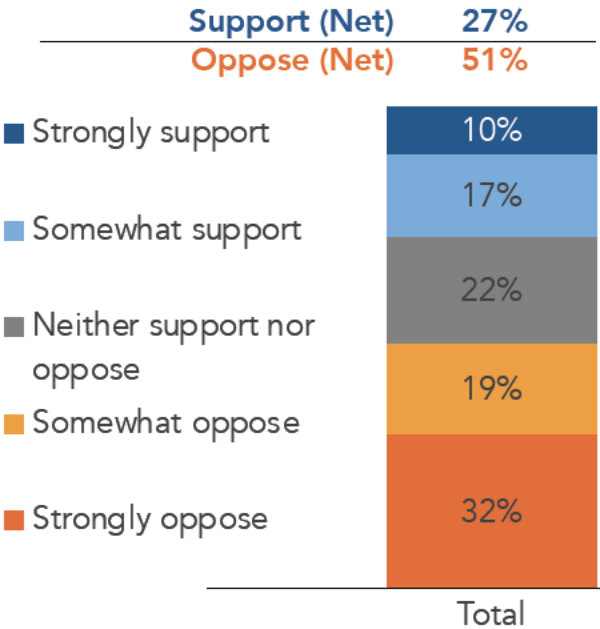
The same holds true for childcare dues skimming – there is low awareness and a majority oppose the policy.

Views on Childcare Dues Skimming

“

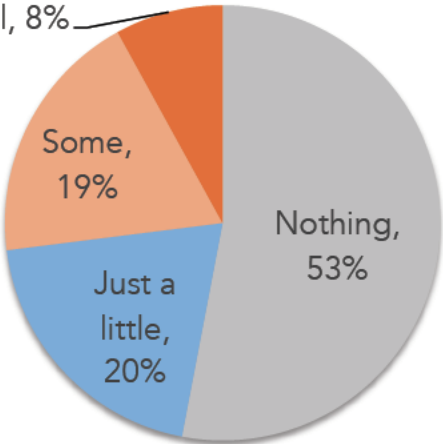
In some states low-income families can receive assistance from the federal government to pay for childcare that helps make it possible for parents to work. A portion of the payments sent to childcare providers, many of whom are small business owners running home daycares, are automatically sent to labor unions as dues before caregivers receive any money.

”



How much did you know about this before today?

A great deal, 8%



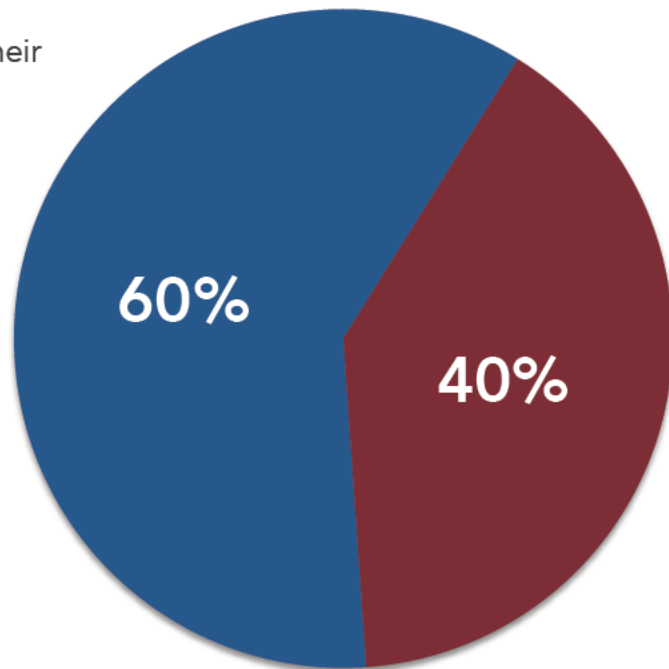
Opposition higher among:
Mountain Region (66%),
Ages 65+ (65%),
Forgotten American Workers (63%),
Ages 55-64 (61%),
East North Central (61%)

BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)
Q710. Do you support or oppose this policy?
Q711. Regardless of how you feel about this policy, how much did you know about this before today?

Medicaid dues skimming is seen as being slightly more problematic than childcare dues skimming.

More Problematic Dues Skimming Policy

Unions have arranged for the government to **automatically deduct a portion of the money sent to Medicaid patients** and their home healthcare providers. The **unions receives the money** deducted from the Medicaid payments **as union dues**.



A portion of the payments sent to daycare providers, many of whom are small business owners running home daycares, **are automatically sent to labor unions as dues** before caregivers receive any money.

Most consider current opt-out procedures unfair.

Views on Opt-Out Procedures

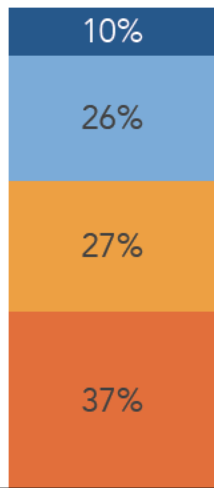
“

In some states where caregivers are automatically enrolled in a union or pressured to join, there is the option to opt-out. In one state, opting out can happen but only during a 10-day window at the “sign-up anniversary” which is very difficult information to get.

”

Fair (Net) 36%
Unfair (Net) 64%

- Mostly fair to the workers
- Somewhat fair to the workers
- Somewhat unfair to the workers
- Mostly unfair to the workers

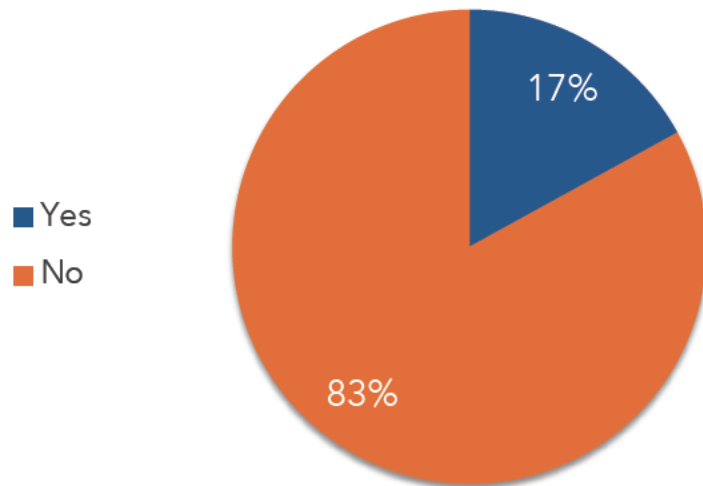


Total

Few can think of other programs that operate in a similar manner and those who can actually name government programs.

Other Government Programs that Operate This Way

Can you think of other government programs/policies that operate this way?

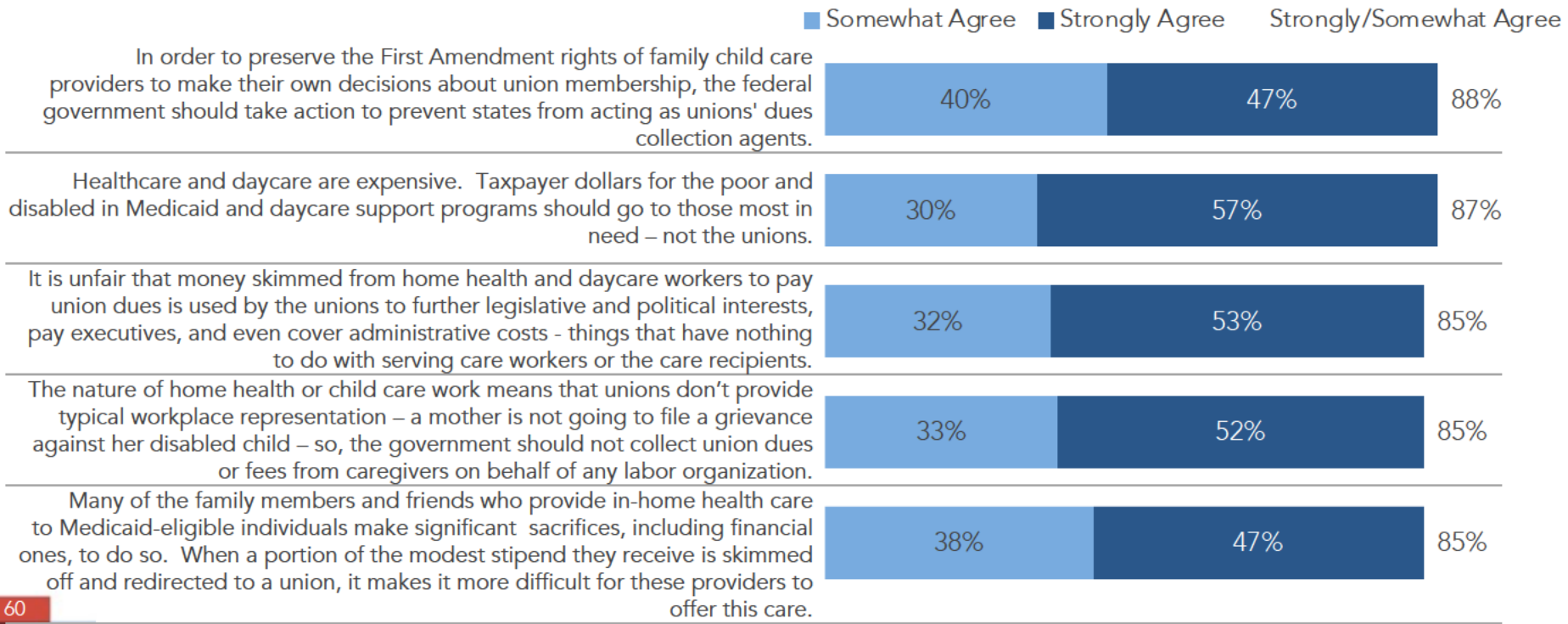


Which program or policy are you thinking of?



There are strong levels of agreement with several messages around dues skimming.

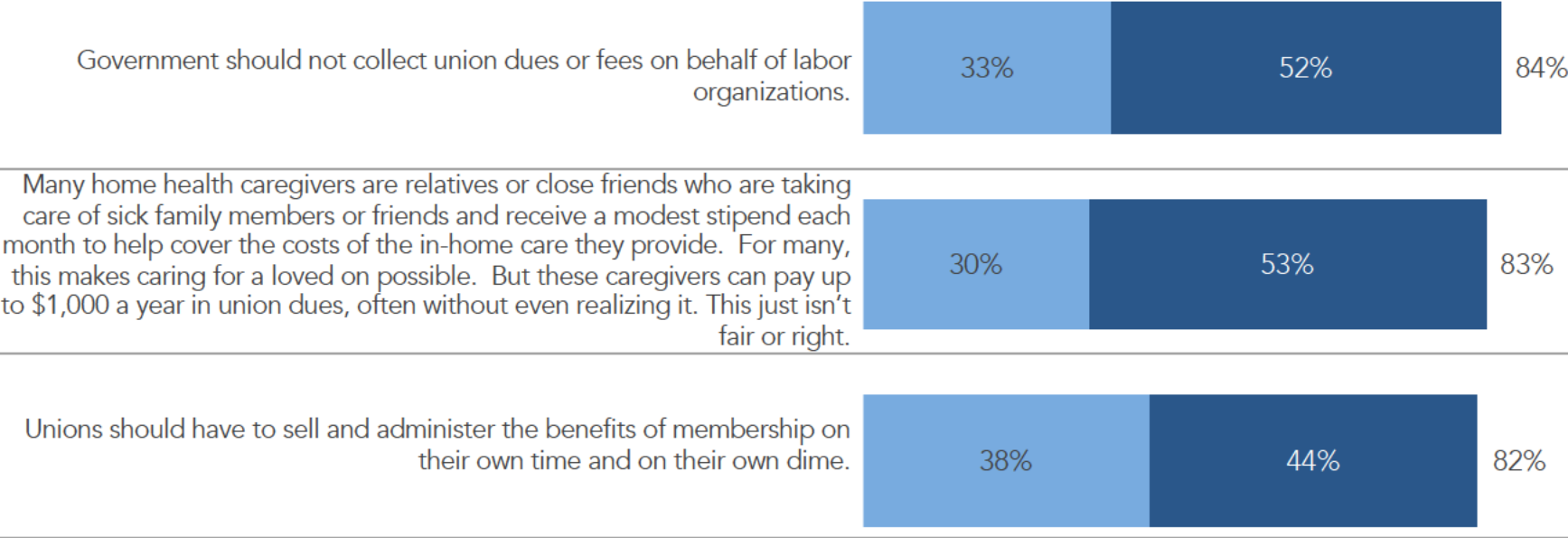
Agreement with Dues Skimming Messaging



There is also strong agreement with messages based on how the government should not collect dues; that is the responsibility of the unions.

Agreement with Dues Skimming Messaging

Somewhat Agree Strongly Agree Strongly/Somewhat Agree



Messaging that takes a broad swing at unions such as *growing the union's treasure chest* are not as strong as program/problem specific messages.

Agreement with Dues Skimming Messaging

■ Somewhat Agree ■ Strongly Agree ■ Strongly/Somewhat Agree

Skimming funds directly from Medicaid payments takes resources from a fixed pot of money that is meant to help the disabled.



Currently, unions have the upper hand when it comes to locking workers into a union – even when those members didn't opt-in – making it difficult for workers to opt-out.



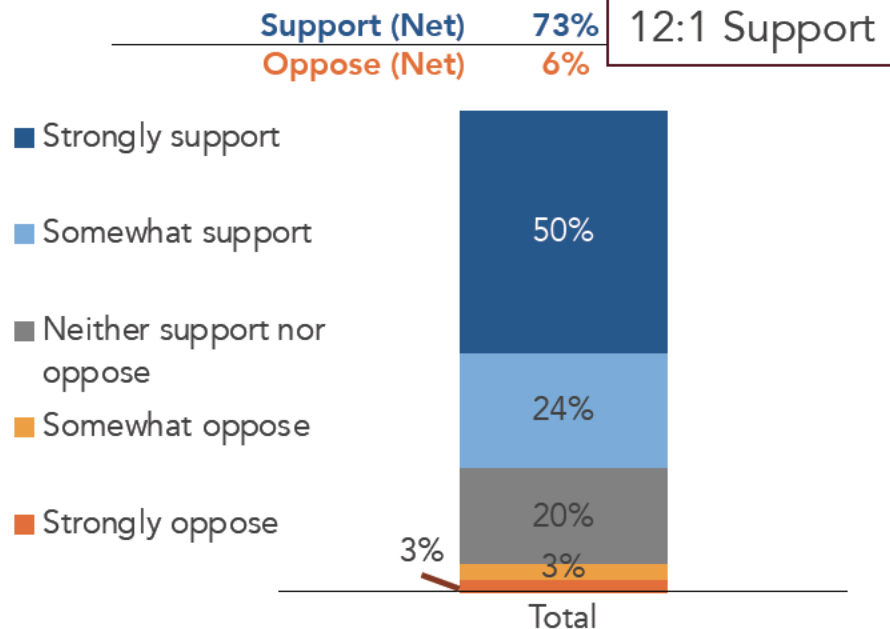
Unions use dues money to support political causes and candidates that will further the union leadership's agenda. This agenda has little to do with improving working conditions or benefits and everything to do with growing the union's treasure chest and political power – by taking money set aside for needy elderly, disabled and sick Americans.



There is strong support for the proposed federal solution to dues skimming.

Support for DHHS Action

“A simple administrative fix from the federal Department of Health and Human Services could end the practice of dues skimming. The Department of Health and Human Services can issue a letter to states engaged in this practice telling them they must stop, and federal rules can be adopted making this practice illegal with federal funds.”

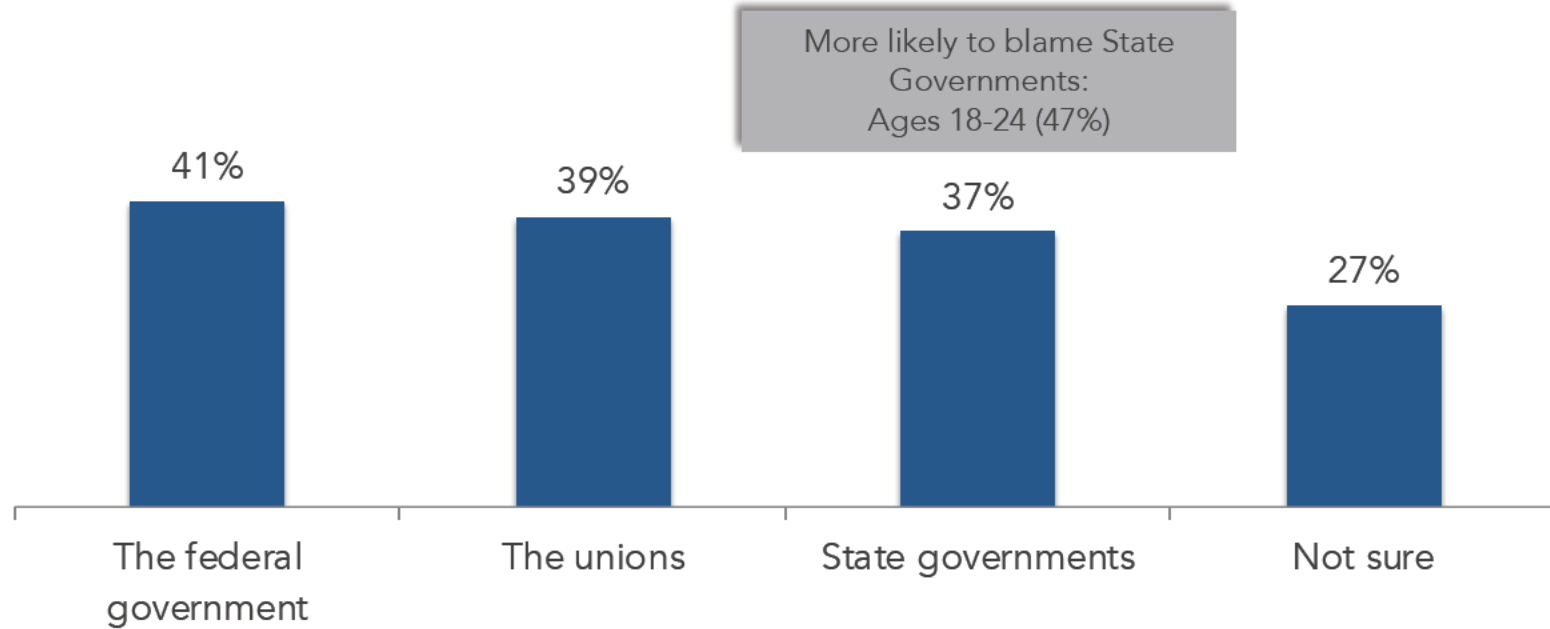


POLITICAL CAPITAL

YOUR GOALS WITH INNOVATIVE RESEARCH WE HELP YOU
UNDERSTAND HOW TO ENGAGE THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF
PEOPLE THAT MATTER MOST TO ACHIEVING YOUR GOALS

Government takes as much blame for dues skimming policies as unions.

Responsible Entities for Dues Skimming Practices

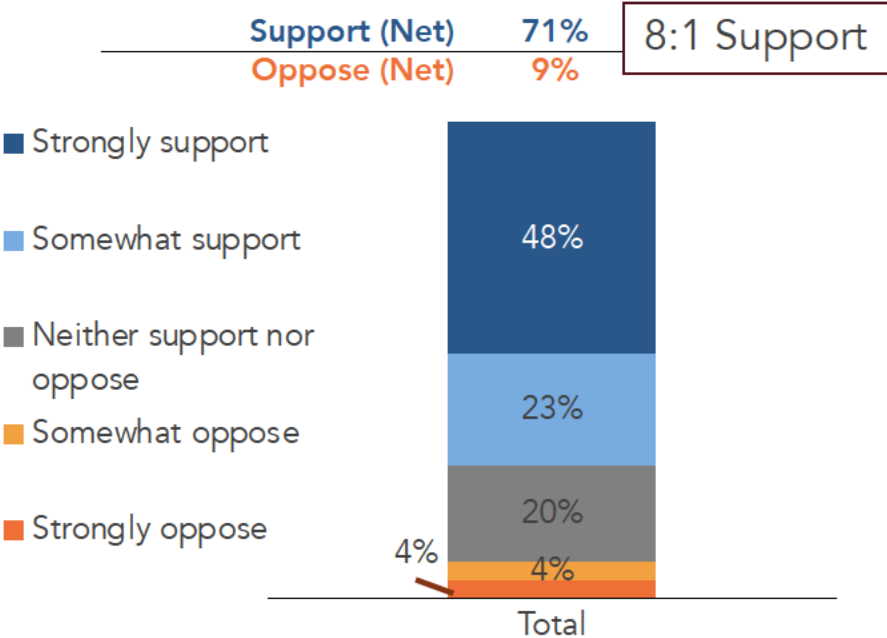


BASE: AL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q800. Thinking about dues skimming, which is the practice of deducting money from government assistance payments going to caretakers as union dues, who do you think is responsible for this practice? (Select all that apply.)

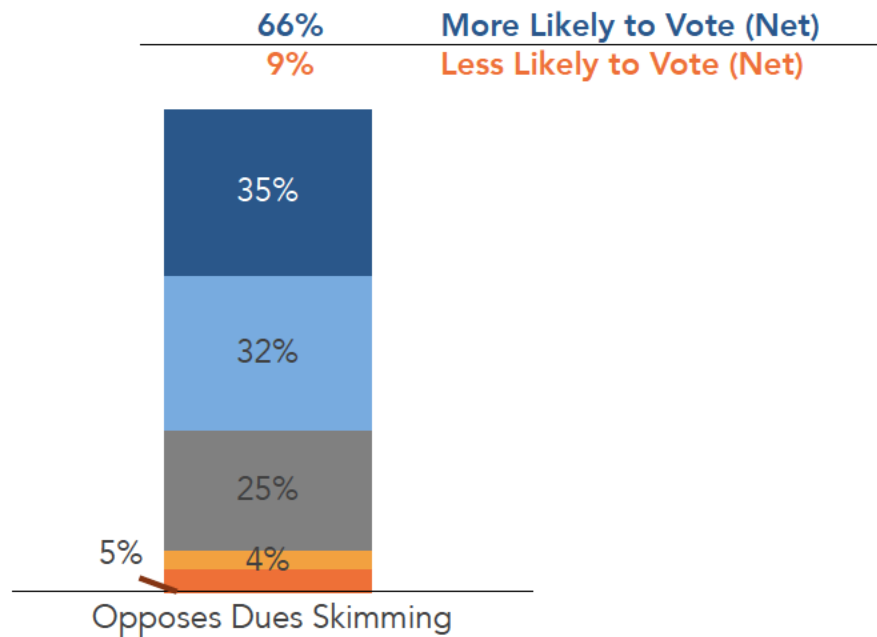
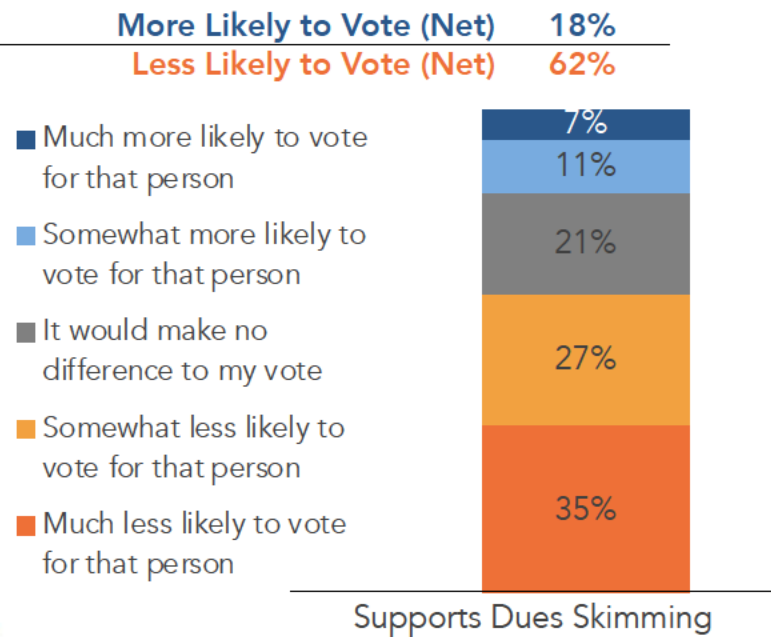
Seven-out-of-ten support anti-dues skimming policies (with nearly half strongly supporting).

Support for Anti-Dues Skimming Policies



Politicians will benefit from a strong stance opposing dues skimming policies.

Likelihood to Vote Based on Dues Skimming Stance



BASE: SPLIT HALF (n=684)

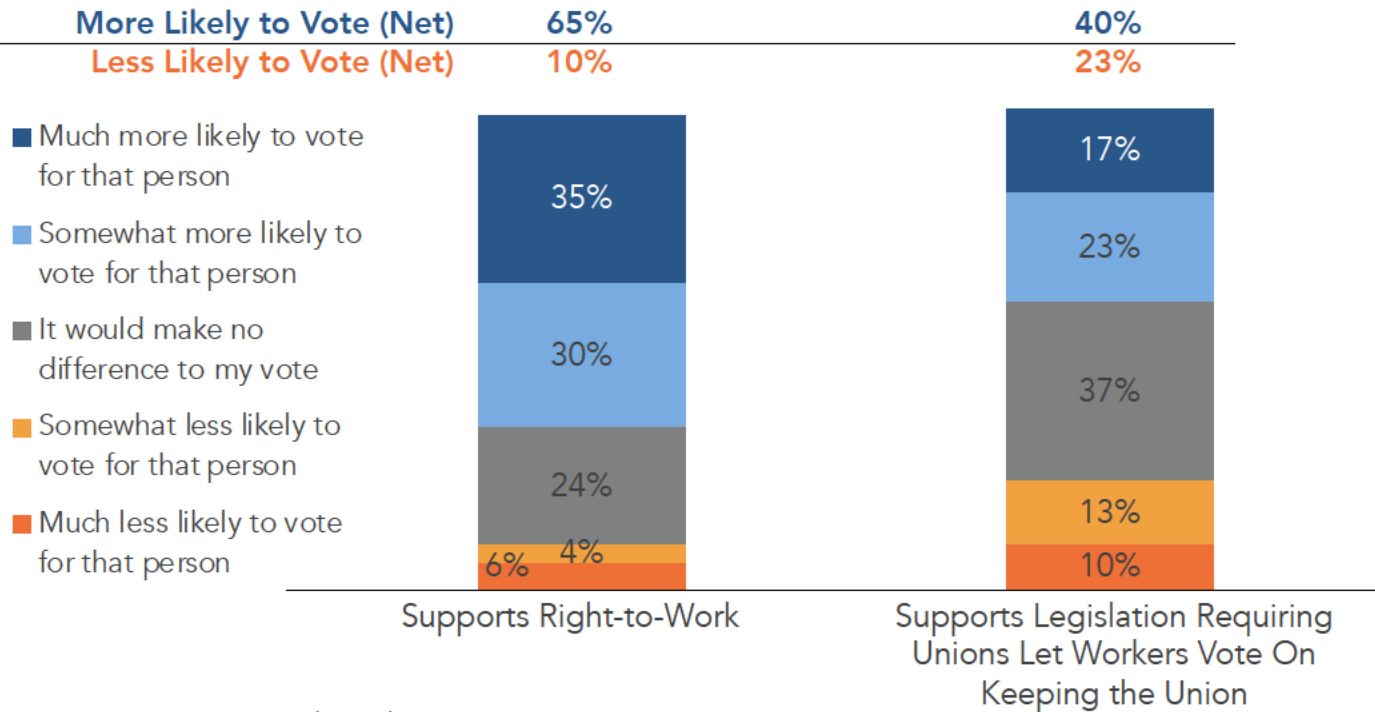
Q805A. If you knew an elected official representing you supported dues skimming, would you be more or less likely to vote for that person or would it make no difference?

SPLIT HALF (n=681)

Q805B. If you knew an elected official representing you opposed dues skimming and was working to end the practice, would you be more or less likely to vote for that person or would it make no difference?

Supporting the Right-to-Work has a positive impact on likelihood to support a candidate. More educational work is needed on recertification.

Likelihood to Vote Based on Right-to-Work Stance



BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q810. If you knew an elected official representing you supported right-to-work laws, which are state laws saying workers do not have to pay or join a union in order to work at a particular job, would you be more or less likely to vote for that person or would it make no difference?

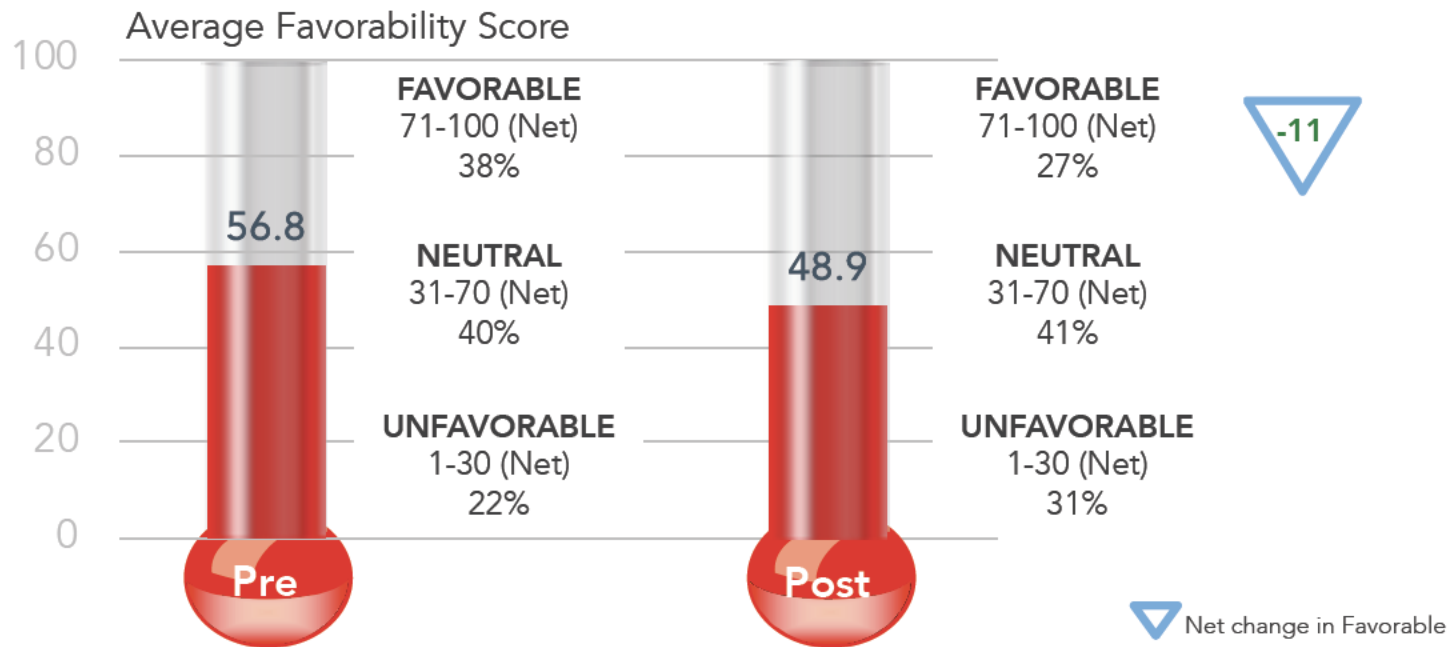
Q815. If you knew an elected official representing you supported legislation that required unions to let their workers vote each year on whether or not to keep the union, would you be more or less likely to vote for that person or would it make no difference?

POST MEASURES

YOUR GOALS WITH INNOVATIVE RESEARCH WE HELP YOU
UNDERSTAND HOW TO ENGAGE THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF
PEOPLE THAT MATTER MOST TO ACHIEVING YOUR GOALS

Favorability toward government labor unions decreases with dues skimming education and messaging.

Favorability Toward Government Labor Unions



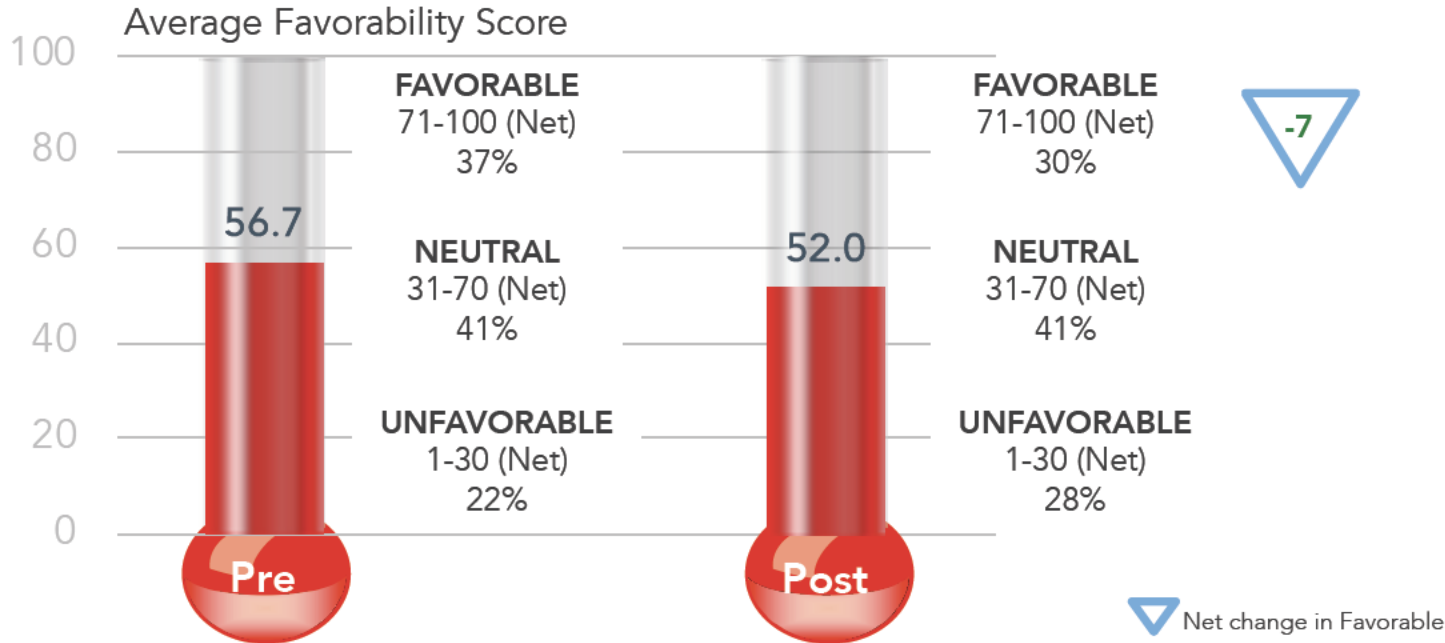
BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q210. Please indicate how favorable you are toward government labor unions (public school teachers, firefighters, and police officers), using a scale of 1 to 100 where 1 means you have "extremely cold or negative feelings" toward public employee unions and 100 means you have "extremely warm or positive feelings" toward public employee unions. You can use any number from 1 to 100.

Q910. Earlier, when asked to indicate how favorable you are toward government labor unions (teachers, firefighters, and police) using a scale of 1 to 100 where 1 means you have "extremely cold or negative feelings" toward government labor unions and 100 means you have "extremely warm or positive feelings" toward government labor unions, you said [INSERT]. Now, how favorable are you toward government labor unions using the same 1 to 100 scale?

A similar but less pronounced trend was observed for private labor unions.

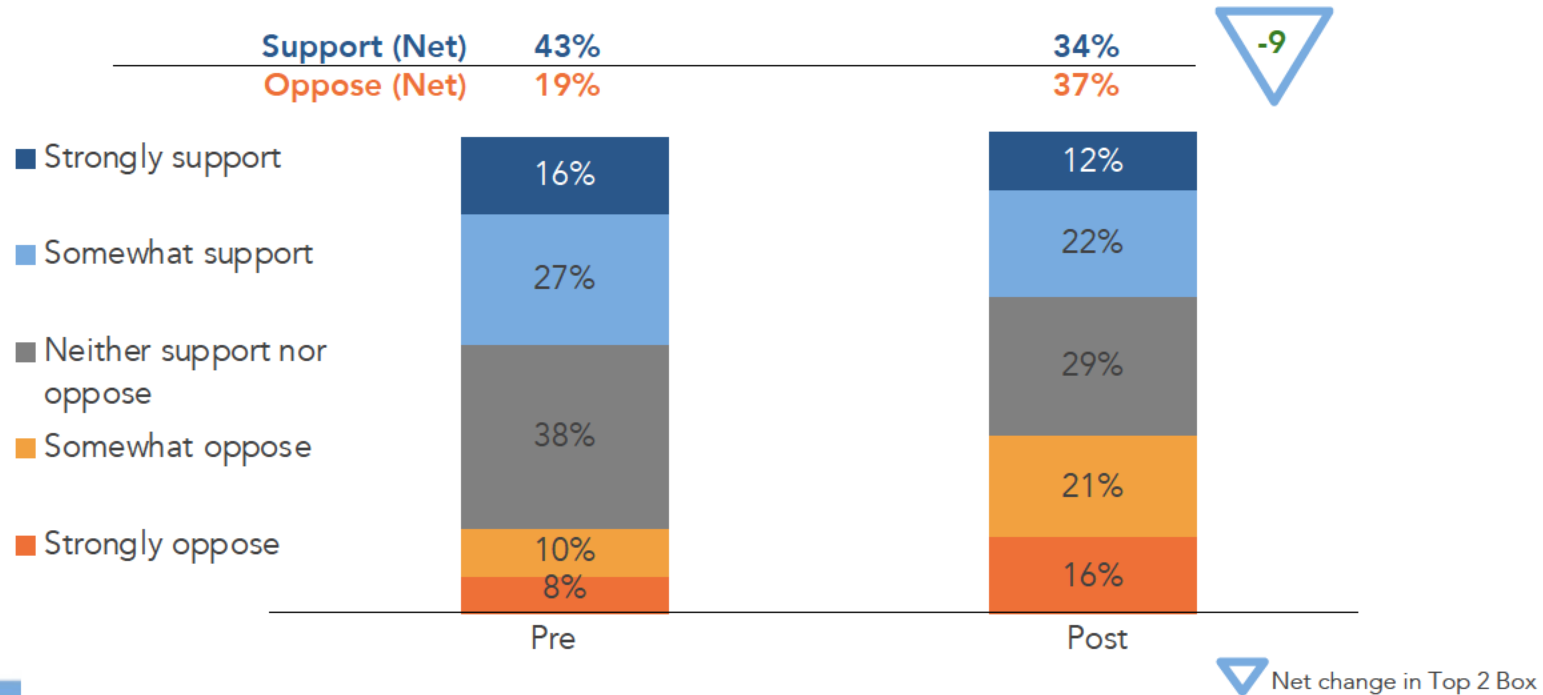
Favorability Toward Private Labor Unions



BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)
Q211. Please indicate how favorable you are toward private industry labor unions (auto workers, plumbers, electricians), using a scale of 1 to 100 where 1 means you have "extremely cold or negative feelings" toward private industry labor unions and 100 means you have "extremely warm or positive feelings" toward private industry labor unions. You can use any number from 1 to 100.
Q911. Earlier, when asked to indicate how favorable you are toward private industry labor unions (auto workers, plumbers, electricians) using a scale of 1 to 100 where 1 means you have "extremely cold or negative feelings" toward private industry labor unions and 100 means you have "extremely warm or positive feelings" toward private industry labor unions, you said [INSERT]. Now, how favorable are you toward private industry labor unions using the same 1 to 100 scale?

Overall support for government labor unions decreases with the policies and messages tested.

Views on Government Labor Unions



BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q215. Generally speaking, do you support or oppose government labor unions?

Q915. Earlier when asked whether you support or oppose government labor unions you said [INSERT]. Now, to what extent do you support or oppose government labor unions?

Change in Net Support of Government Labor Unions

Change -9

Overall

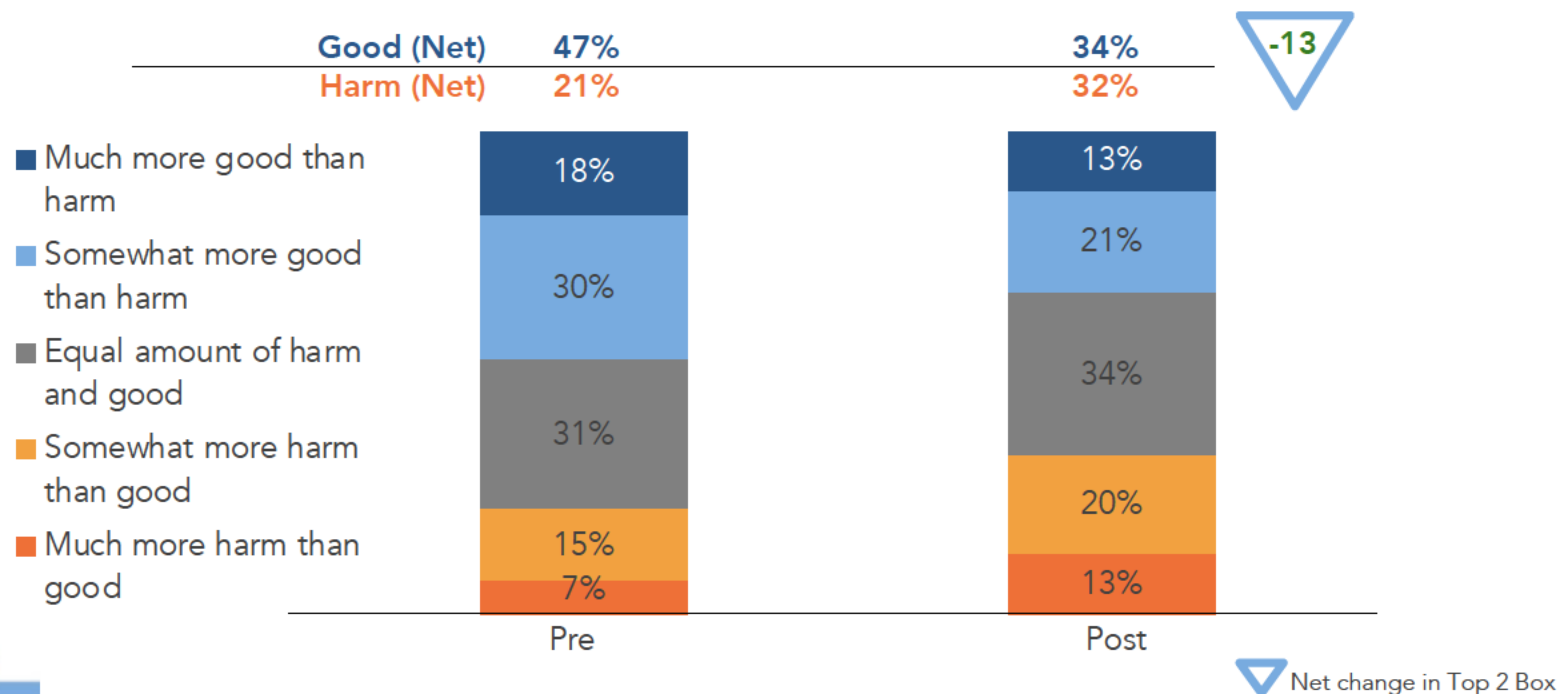


Core	Swing	Anti
<p>Forgotten American Worker (-10%)*</p> <p>Republicans (-7%)*</p> <p>Economic Conservatives (-7%)*</p> <p>Social Conservatives (-6%)*</p> <p>Ages 65+ (-7%)*</p>	<p>Independents (-4%)*</p> <p>Ages 45-54 (-12%)*</p> <p>Mountain Region (-6%)*</p> <p>White (-8%)*</p> <p>Economic Moderates (-7%)*</p> <p>Ages 55-64 (-4%)*</p> <p>Non-Union Sympathetic Household (-7%)*</p> <p>East North Central (-7%)*</p> <p>West South Central (-11%)*</p> <p>Social Moderates (-7%)*</p> <p>South Atlantic (-4%)</p> <p>Non-Union Households (-9%)*</p>	<p>Male (-8%)*</p> <p>Post-Graduate Degree (-7%)</p> <p>Some College (-11%)*</p> <p>College Graduate (-9%)</p> <p>HS or Less (-7%)</p> <p>Female (-11%)*</p> <p>Middle Atlantic (-12%)</p> <p>East South Central (-19%)*</p> <p>West North Central (-8%)</p> <p>Pacific (-13%)</p> <p>New England (-2%)</p> <p>Ages 35-44 (-9%)</p> <p>Union Sympathetic Household (-12%)</p> <p>Asian (-10%)</p> <p>Hispanic (-10%)</p> <p>Ages 18-24 (-9%)</p> <p>Ages 25-34 (-14%)</p> <p>African-Americans (-14%)</p> <p>Social Liberals (-13%)</p> <p>Democrats (-14%)</p> <p>Economic Liberals (-13%)</p> <p>Union Households (-8%)</p>

*More oppose than support

There is a 13-point drop in the number who believe unions do more good than harm after messaging.

Views on Impact of Labor Unions



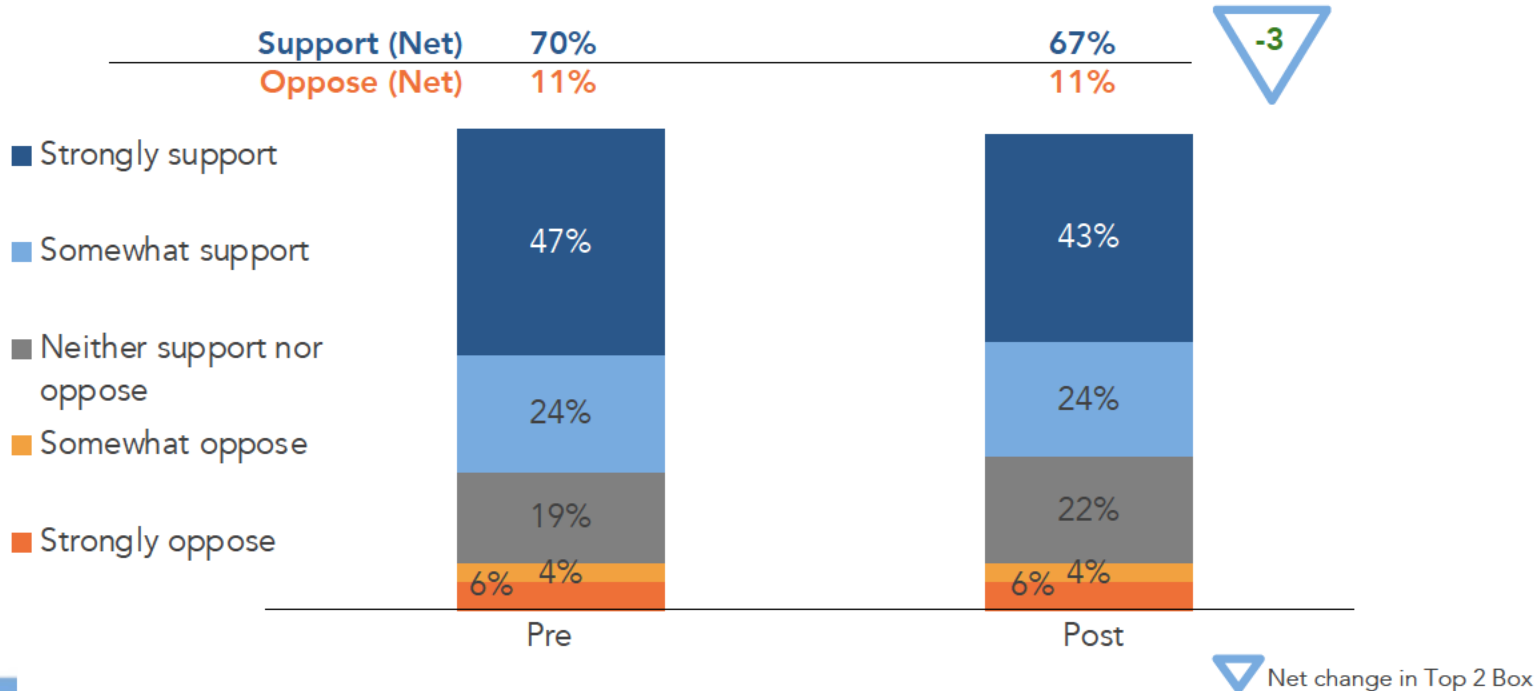
BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q220. Overall, do you think labor unions generally do more harm or more good?

Q920. Earlier you said unions do [INSERT]. Now, do you think labor unions generally do more harm or more good?

Support for Right-to-Work laws remained fairly stable.

Support for Right-to-Work Laws



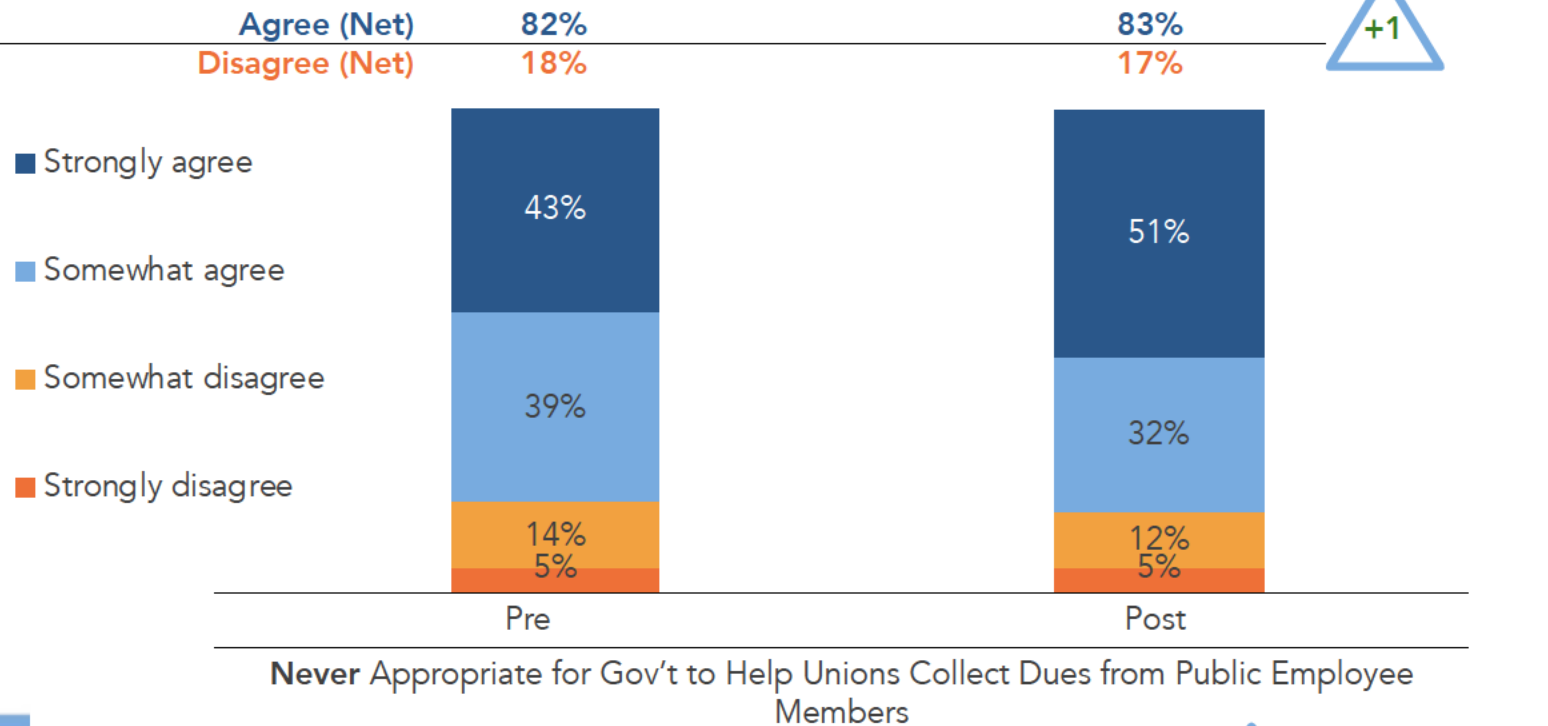
BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)

Q225. Based on this description, do you support or oppose these types of laws?

Q925. Earlier when asked whether you support or oppose these types of laws you said [INSERT]. Now, to what extent do you support or oppose these types of laws?

There is little change in views on using the government to collect dues.

Views on Collecting Dues From Public Employee Members



Net change in Top 2 Box

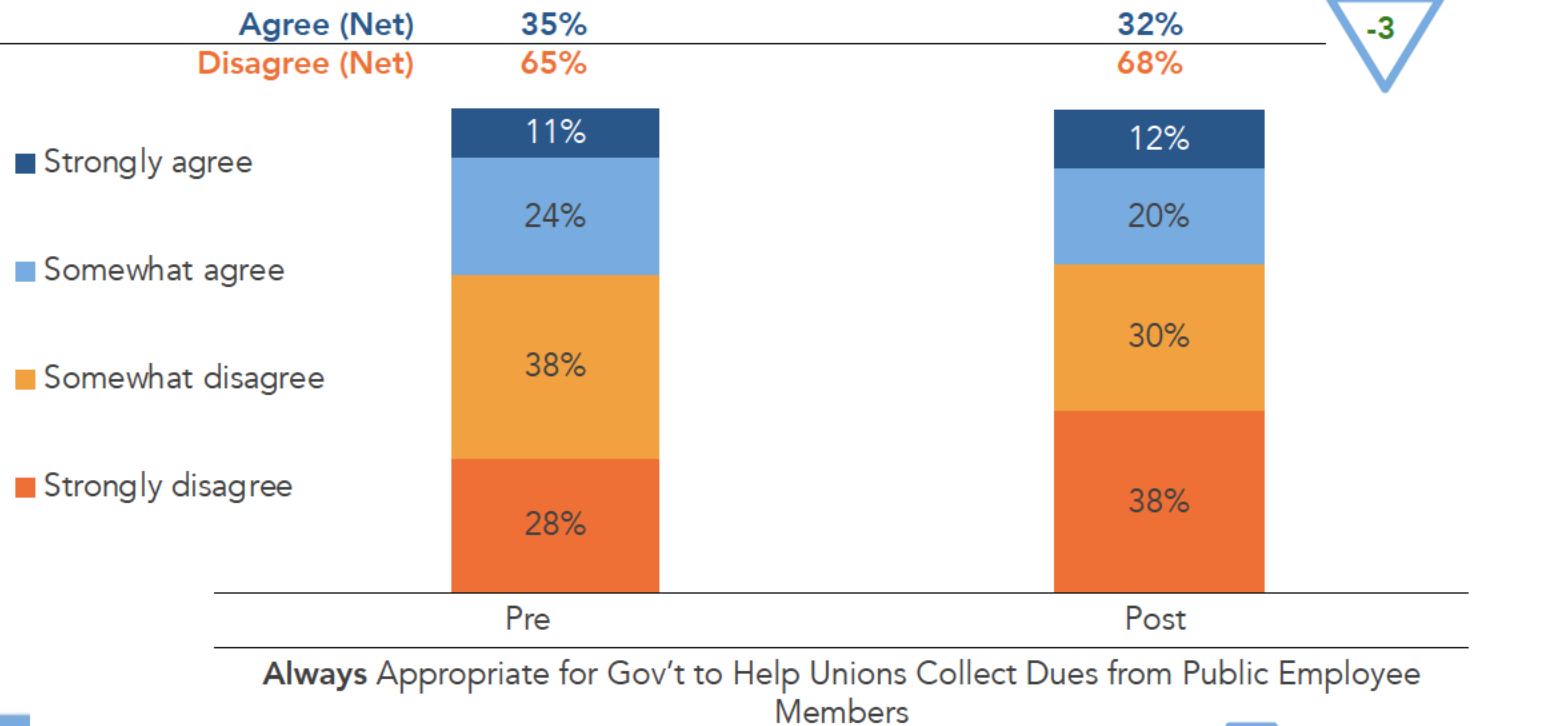
BASE: SPLIT HALF (n=680)

Q235A. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Q935A. Earlier you said you [INSERT] with the following statement. Now, how much do you agree or disagree with the statement?

The same trend was observed when asking the question a slightly different way.

Views on Collecting Dues From Public Employee Members



Net change in Top 2 Box

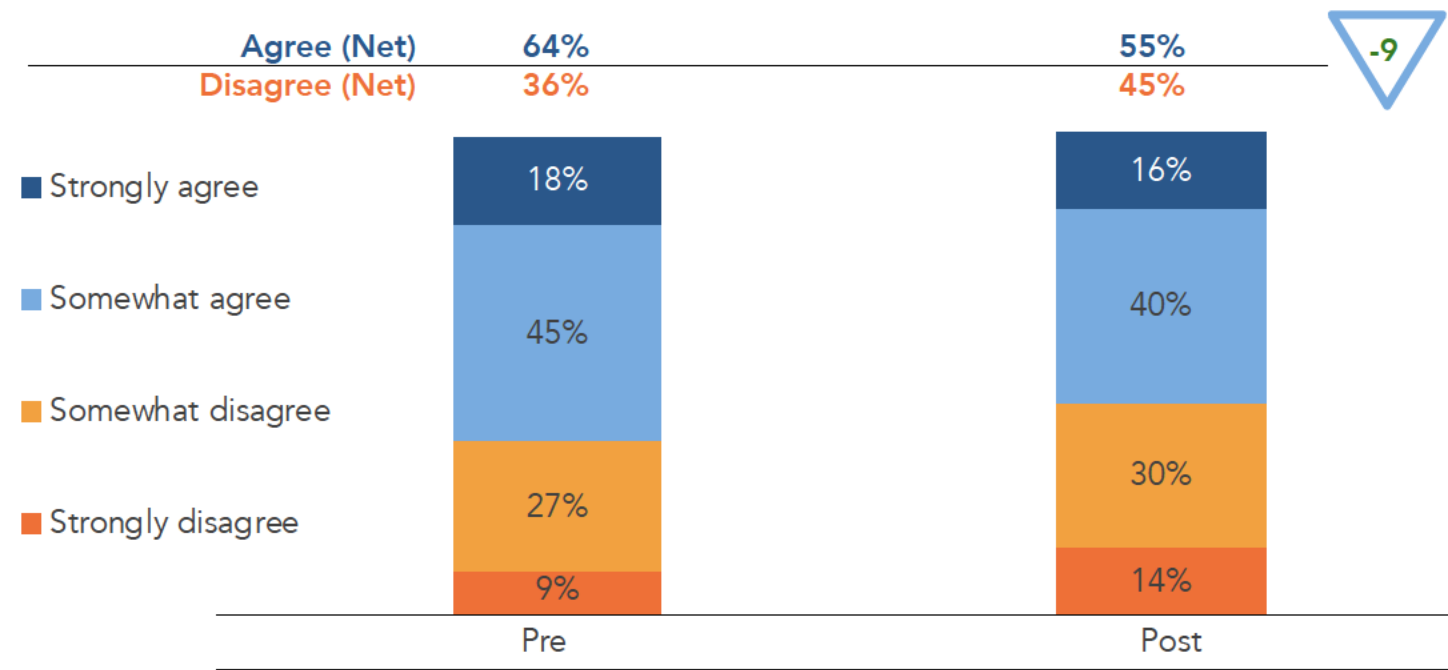
BASE: SPLIT HALF (n=685)

Q235B. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Q935B. Earlier you said you [INSERT] with the following statement. Now, how much do you agree or disagree with the statement?

Most continue to believe members get the value they deserve from member dues, but the belief shows signs of erosion.

Value of Dues



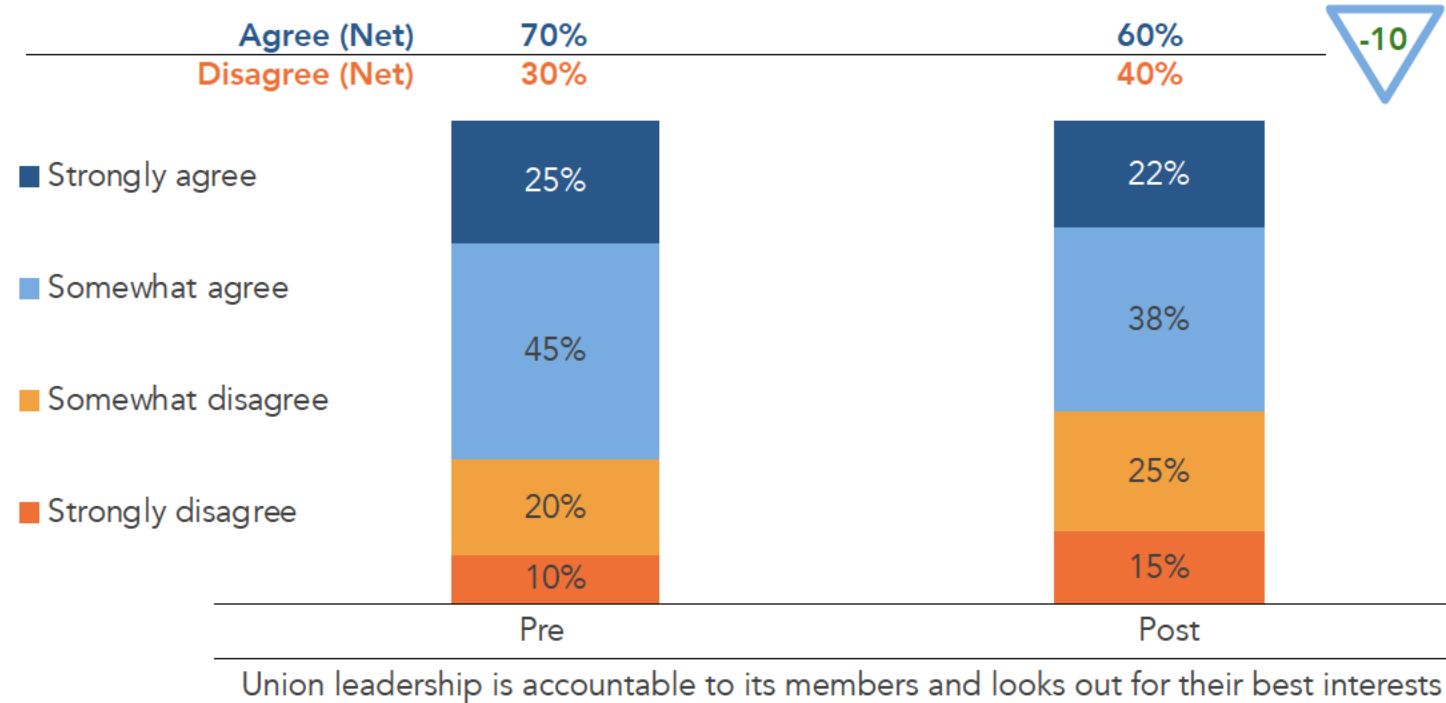
Union members get the value they deserve from their union membership dues

Net change in Top 2 Box

BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)
Q228. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
Q928. Earlier when asked if you agreed or disagreed with this statement you said [INSERT]. Now, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Similarly, most continue to believe union leadership is accountable, but there is a sizeable decrease with messaging on dues skimming.

Accountability of Leadership



Net change in Top 2 Box

BASE: ALL RESPONDENTS (n=1365)
Q229. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
Q929. Earlier when asked if you agreed or disagreed with this statement you said [INSERT]. Now, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?



APPENDIX



Ideology

		Total
2016 Forgotten/Ignored/Left Behind Voter	Not at all	13%
	Not very much	19%
	To some degree	41%
	Mostly	15%
	Definitely	13%
Voted in 2016 Election	Yes	90%
	No	9%
	Not sure	1%
2016 Presidential Vote	Donald Trump	39%
	Hillary Clinton	49%
	Someone else	10%
	Do not remember	1%

		Total
Political Party	Republican	27%
	Democrat	38%
	Independent	26%
	Libertarian	3%
	Something else	2%
	Not sure	3%
	Decline to answer	2%

Ideology (Cont.)

		Total
Economic Ideology	Very Conservative	13%
	Somewhat Conservative	15%
	Lean Conservative	12%
	Do not lean either way	15%
	Lean Liberal	12%
	Somewhat Liberal	12%
	Very Liberal	14%
	Not Sure	5%
Decline to answer		2%

		Total
Social Ideology	Very Conservative	14%
	Somewhat Conservative	11%
	Lean Conservative	12%
	Do not lean either way	15%
	Lean Liberal	9%
	Somewhat Liberal	13%
	Very Liberal	19%
	Not Sure	5%
Decline to answer		3%

Demographic Data

		TOTAL
Gender	Male	49%
	Female	51%
Age	18-24	13%
	25-34	18%
	35-44	17%
	45-54	17%
	55-64	17%
	65+	19%
Race/Ethnicity	Hispanic	16%
	Caucasian/White	64%
	African-American/Black	12%
	Asian	5%
	Multi-race	2%
	Other	1%

		TOTAL
Marital Status	Single, never married	31%
	Married	49%
	Living with Partner	6%
	Divorced	9%
	Separated	1%
	Widow/Widower	4%
Children in HH	Prefer not to answer	1%
	None	68%
	1	16%
	2	9%
	3	3%
	4	1%
	5+	1%
	Mean	0.5

Geography

	TOTAL
Region	
New England	5%
Middle Atlantic	13%
East North Central	15%
West North Central	7%
South Atlantic	20%
East South Central	6%
West South Central	12%
Mountain	7%
Pacific	16%

Socioeconomic Measures

Education	TOTAL
HS or Less (NET)	18%
Less than high school (8 th grade or less)	*
Some high school (9 th -12 th grade)	1%
High school graduate	17%
Some College (NET)	39%
Some college, but no degree	23%
Associate's Degree (Vocational / Technical)	15%
Bachelor's degree	29%
Post-Graduate (NET)	14%
Master's degree	11%
Professional degree	2%
Doctorate degree	1%
Decline to answer	*

Income	TOTAL
Less than \$50K (NET)	45%
Less than \$10,000	4%
\$10,000 but < \$15,000	4%
\$15,000 but < \$20,000	5%
\$20,000 but < \$30,000	10%
\$30,000 but < \$40,000	13%
\$40,000 but < \$50,000	9%
\$50,000 but < \$75,000	23%
\$75,000 but < \$100,000	12%
\$100K or more (NET)	16%
\$100,000 but < \$150,000	11%
\$150,000 or more	5%
Prefer not to answer	4%

Employment Data

	TOTAL
Employment Status	Employed (NET)
	56%
	Employed full-time
	39%
	Employed part-time
	10%
	Self-employed
	6%
	Not Employed
	9%
	Retired
	22%
	Student
	5%
	Stay-at-home spouse or partner
	8%
	Prefer not to answer
	1%

	TOTAL
Union Member	Associated with Union (NET)
	15%
	Yes, member
	8%
	Yes, someone in HH is member
	7%
	No
	83%
	Not sure
	2%
Union Member	Yes, relative
	23%
Relatives/Friends	Yes, close friend
	14%
	No
	58%
	Not sure
	11%